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Letters from South Korea

OF KOREA
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1975



by T.K.

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**LETTERS
FROM
SOUTH KOREA**

Foreword by KINHIDE MUSHAKOJI

Postscript by GEORGE OGLE

A Declaration of Conscience, KIM CHI HA

LETTERS FROM SOUTH KOREA

by T. K.

Edited by SEKAI

Translated by DAVID L. SWAIN

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LETTERS FROM SOUTH KOREA

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FOREWORD

One characteristic of our age is the growing interest in events in different parts of the world where the cause of justice and human rights is at stake. From the Russian intellectuals to the Basque nationalists, whenever the world press publicizes injustice and violations of human rights, world opinion reacts promptly with expressions of deep concern.

Certain parts of the world, however, benefit from greater press coverage than others, and hence they receive more attention from the public. For example, Europeans were particularly concerned about the fate of political prisoners in Spain, and American concern for the fate of the Jewish minority in the Soviet Union influenced U.S. policy toward that country. Similar situations in other continents tend to be less well publicized by the world press and hence tend to be forgotten, if not unnoticed.

Events of the last few years in South Korea belong to this class of forgotten or neglected cases, drawing the attention of only a few people of goodwill with some personal interest in Korean affairs. Perhaps only in Japan, and to a much lesser extent in the United States, has the abuse of power by the government of President Park Chung Hee been a significant public concern and the heroic deeds of an active minority fighting for a more just society been followed by the press.

With the publication in English of *Letters from South Korea* world opinion now has access to a national situation and a human condition that deserve much greater consideration, both because of the tragic nature of the domestic and international context of the situation and because of the precious example of the courageous struggle for justice, human rights and democracy being waged

against a dictatorial regime. As readers unacquainted with the situation in Northeast Asia may have some difficulty in grasping the political and intellectual context within which these letters have been written, a few words of explanation on the above two points may be of some help.

The declaration of martial law in Korea which took place on October 17, 1972, and the adoption of the Revitalization (Yushin) Constitution which followed, opened up a new phase in the tormented history of South Korea. Hailed and publicized by the government of the Republic of Korea as the October Revitalization System (Siwol Yushin Ch'eje), the new regime maintained by martial law, emergency measures and the suspension of civil rights and liberties has triggered a protest movement that is harshly suppressed by the cruel and efficient hand of the Korean CIA.

By assuming dictatorial power, President Park put an end to the democratic system in his country and replaced it with emergency powers to perpetuate his regime, after having first changed the Constitution of the Republic of Korea in 1969 to allow himself to be elected for a third term in 1971.

It is true that these measures were taken under the pretext of the necessity to strengthen the government's power base in the face of a mounting threat from the North. Such was, however, a strange follow-up to the July 4, 1972 Joint Declaration in which the governments of the Republic of Korea (South Korea) and of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) stated their common desire to achieve national unification in an autonomous and peaceful way that transcended ideological differences. After a brief interlude of three months, tensions between the two halves of divided Korea regained momentum, and anticommunism became more than before the proclaimed and paramount interest for the ROK government, even to the extent that democracy and human rights were to be sacrificed.

It may be useful here to retrace the historical development which preceded the establishment of the Revitalization Constitution. As

is widely known, President Park assumed power in 1961 through a coup d'état that ended the liberal regime of Prime Minister Chang Myon, who had taken office after the 1960 fall of the Syngman Rhee regime. Brushing aside the reunification movement of the students, Park based his power on the proclaimed need to build a strong government capable of countering a possible attack from the North. In doing so, he played skillfully on the fear of North Korea which has remained strong in the South since the Korean War.

Thus, soon after the military coup, President Park undertook several measures to give his government the necessary power to keep all opposition under control. The National Security Law was enacted to outlaw conspiracy, instigation and propaganda in support of *anti-state organizations*, and the Anti-Communist Law was promulgated in order to "strengthen the anticommunist posture, which is the primary objective of the national construction task." Heavy penalties were imposed on organizations thought to work along the lines of the communists, to lure persons into affiliation with such organizations, to praise and encourage them, or to benefit them by organizing meetings or by disseminating information, and so on.

Under the two laws liberals completely unrelated to communism were punished for their criticism of the Park government. This already tight control was later reinforced by the proclamation of the Revitalization (Yushin) Constitution in the fall of 1972. In Article 53 of this fundamental law of the Republic of Korea, the President was given power to take emergency measures. Several emergency decrees were issued to strengthen the power base of the Yushin system in violation of human rights and civil liberties. For example, Presidential Emergency Decree No. 1 prohibiting the denial, opposition or defamation of the Yushin Constitution was declared on January 8, 1974. Simultaneously, Emergency Decree No. 2 established the Emergency Court-Martial to try and adjudicate any crime against the emergency decrees. Emergency Decree No. 9 was enacted on May 13, 1975 in order to forbid false

presentation of *facts*, opposition to the Constitution, meetings by students interfering with politics, and defamation of the emergency decrees. It gave the government full power to require the expulsion of “culprits” from schools and companies, to ban the publication of information, to close schools, companies and other organizations, etc. In addition to the emergency decrees, the Criminal Code was revised to limit human rights. An amendment was introduced that established a “crime of slander against the state.” A clause on the punishment of Korean citizens committing this crime outside the country or in association with foreigners in the country was introduced with the obvious aim of controlling criticism of the Yushin system made abroad by Korean leaders such as Mr. Kim Dae Jung and to prevent foreign missionaries and news correspondents from reporting critical comments made to them by Koreans in the country.

It was only natural that the tight legal web of the Yushin system, restricting more than before the civil rights and liberties of the citizens of the Republic of Korea, should have aroused public concern and criticism within and outside the country. The situation, however, was even more critical. As an Amnesty International mission reported in 1975, the enforcement of the emergency decrees was accompanied by serious violations of basic human rights, such as different types of torture used to force political prisoners to make false confessions.

It may be unbelievable to readers in liberal societies that such abuse of power is tolerated not only in but also outside South Korea. In a sense, the end of the Vietnam War and the rapprochement between the United States and China, hailed throughout the world as the beginning of *détente*, exacerbated tensions on the Korean peninsula, which has become the last refuge of the Cold War mentality. President Park makes full use of this trend when he emphasizes the danger of attack from the North as a justification for the suspension of human rights and civil liberties.

On the economic level, diligent efforts by the Korean people, together with American and Japanese aid and the stimulus of the

Vietnam War, have yielded rapid growth, although the economy is now seriously hampered by worldwide inflationary trends. This permits the government of the Republic of Korea to claim that next to defense the economic growth of the nation has priority over human rights issues, since the ROK must not allow the Democratic People's Republic to win in their economic competition.

The above arguments seem to be accepted by the U.S. government, which maintains—though greatly reduced—its military support of South Korea, and by Japan, which conducts a program of economic cooperation involving intense capital investment by private Japanese firms. It is nonetheless true that the “threat from the North” argument is rejected by many foreign specialists.

It is unlikely, now that the Sino-Soviet split makes a second Korean War dangerous for both countries, that the Democratic People's Republic can count on the necessary support for an open attack. In the long run, however, both North and South must put an end to their present arms race and agree on a program for peaceful reunification. Unfortunately, as we have already seen, memories of the Korean War make the South Korean people extremely fearful and suspicious of the North, and this allows their government to justify its dictatorial power.

As for the economy, it should be noted that the rising inflation that accompanied rapid growth served to broaden the gap between rich and poor. It intensified the exploitation of cheap labor. It also made the Korean economy extremely dependent, with a very bad trade balance and a serious national indebtedness. Corruption is a complicating factor, and increasing reliance on Japan to support its growth policy tends to aggravate the sickness of the Korean economy. That is why many outside observers do not accept the argument that indiscriminate defense and economic growth policies at the expense of welfare and human rights offer a viable course for the Republic of Korea.

The heroic nature of the fight for justice in Korea can be fully grasped only when the above military-economic context of the Yushin regime is understood. This fight is characterized by three

features that distinguish it from similar actions in other parts of the world. First of all, it is a nonideological movement of people concerned primarily with justice, human rights and democracy. Secondly, it is a decentralized movement conducted by a coalition of men and women of different generations and occupations. Thirdly, it uses nonviolent means to fight against a government which does not itself refrain from the use of force.

The first point, the nonideological nature of the movement opposing the Yushin regime, naturally is contested by the regime. In both the People's Revolutionary Party trial and the trial of the National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students, the allegation was made that the defendants were communists or under communist instructions. A similar tactic was used against poet Kim Chi Ha. As is well described in *Letters from South Korea*, these allegations were completely unfounded.

One of the most striking features of the fight for justice in South Korea is the active role played by such traditionally conservative organizations as the Christian churches, which have generally been allergic to politics. As Bishop Daniel Tji states in his "Declaration of Conscience," it is "because the so-called Revitalization Constitution is invalid and contrary to truth" and "because it violates the most basic and essential rights of the people" that the wave of protest involves conservatives and liberals alike in a common fight against the abuse of power by the Park regime. An important point to remember is that the difference between President Park and those who oppose him is not one of anticommunism or procommunism, but involves rather the means to fight this ideology. The political and intellectual critics of Park emphasize the need to preserve democratic values in order to resist successfully the communist threat from the North.

The recent March 1, 1976 Declaration states it so clearly: "At this moment when we are engaged in a fierce competition with the communist regime of the North, we must promote our democratic potential. National defense and economic strength are important. Yet, unless they are based on a democratic potential, they are but

a castle built on sand." This statement testifies eloquently to the fact that the fight against the Yushin regime is not at all related to communism but is rooted, rather, in a deep sense of human dignity combined with an equally strong patriotism. In that connection, it is interesting that the March 1st Declaration is entitled "Declaration for Democratic National Salvation."

The nonideological nature of the movement for justice in South Korea enables people of different generations and occupations to struggle together. Politicians who, like Kim Dae Jung, are alarmed by the complete atrophy of parliamentary democracy under the Yushin regime; students who strongly believe in the cause of national unification and are deeply disappointed by the government's sabotage of this sacred cause; poets who, like Kim Chi Ha, cannot remain silent in the face of corruption and injustice; Christian social workers who, like Rev. Park Hyung Kyu, are repulsed by the sight of subhuman conditions; journalists who, like those of the *Dong-A Ilbo*, are concerned about freedom of the press—all these people with different backgrounds and bases in society came to realize that the root of all the ills they fight lies in the same Yushin system. It is interesting to read in *Letters from South Korea* how these different groups act without any central coordinating body and support each other in their common struggle for justice, human rights and democracy.

It is far from commonplace for groups as diverse as these to adopt a nonviolent approach. One cannot but be deeply impressed by the high moral quality of all participants in this movement, who persist in the use of nonviolent means against the violence of their oppressors. The words of Rev. Park Hyung Kyu, arrested for having distributed leaflets critical of the government during an Easter Service in 1973, symbolize the nonviolent approach adopted by countless Korean Christians in their prayer meetings: "If the government does things which are against the interests of the people, we must admonish the rulers and pray for them." *Letters from South Korea* makes unmistakably clear that the only way left to the people who oppose the Yushin regime is to adopt the tactics of

the guerrilla. But this guerrilla, unlike those in many other places, is a nonviolent guerrilla. More heroic than the violent version, he is determined to fight by being the object of violence, refusing to retaliate in any circumstance.

That is why *Letters from South Korea* is not merely a description of a desperate situation where human rights are infringed upon by a dictatorial power. The letters have a much more positive meaning than that, since they give witness to a courageous fight of a decentralized, nonideological and nonviolent nature organized by active minorities with different backgrounds. It is not enough, therefore, to read this book with compassion and commiseration. We must admire the heroic humanism and the passion for justice which animates the people about whom so many eloquent lines are found in the letters.

The letters first began appearing in the Japanese intellectual magazine *Sekai* in May 1973. The first one sent by the anonymous writer is dated November 15, 1972—one month after martial law was declared. The letters describe faithfully the events the author witnesses, and they communicate to the reader the feelings of alarm, indignation, despair and hope of a Korean intellectual living through this tragic period in the history of his country.

It is perhaps necessary to stress the fact that these messages are addressed to the Japanese public. The relative advantage we have in Japan, where we are well informed by the press about events in Korea, naturally must have led the author to assume that certain facts were already known to readers in this country, and this may cause some trouble for less well-informed readers of this English version. We hope that this Foreword, along with the Postscript and the translator's notes, will provide enough background information to facilitate a sensitive reading of these letters.

But, more than that technical point, we must call to the attention of readers who are neither Korean nor Japanese the special context within which the letters are read in Japan. It is difficult for any Japanese to read them without feelings of guilt. This is so not

merely because of the tragic history of Japanese invasions and colonialism. Contemporary relations between the two countries, involving such problems as domination of the Korean economy by Japanese private interests, collusion between political leaders of the two countries, and discrimination against Koreans in Japan, are also important.

It is, therefore, impossible for us to read the letters sent by an unknown friend who himself is a victim of an undemocratic system perpetuated at least partially by Japanese involvement, without bearing in mind our own responsibility. We cannot put ourselves in the position of a righteous man condemning the guilt of his neighbor. *Letters from South Korea* has not been translated and published in English in order to condemn our neighboring country as if our own were more just or more democratic. Rather, it is because we feel that inaction on our part means more hardship for our neighbors and that one possible role for us in Japan is to inform world opinion of the heroic fight for justice taking place in Korea, that letters originally addressed to us are being made available to a wider audience.

As the letters point out, world opinion can play a considerable role in reducing the involvements of different foreign countries, whether U.S. military support, Japanese economic cooperation, or technological assistance and economic investments of European private interests. We hope that the readers of this book will feel themselves obliged to arouse world conscience and motivate people in different countries to forge solidarity with the friends of the author of the letters. Those friends deserve much more consideration and far greater support from all people in the world who seek to build a more just world where the dignity of the human person is fully respected.

KINSHIDE MUSHAKOJI
Professor

Sophia University, Tokyo
10 March 1976

TRANSLATOR'S PREFACE

An otherwise delightful home leave spent as a visiting instructor at Duke University in the fall of 1973 was occasionally disturbed by word from friends in Japan of the furor caused there by the abduction of Kim Dae Jung, which had taken place after my late summer departure for the U.S. Returning to Japan in the spring of 1974 when the wave of arrests began sweeping over Korea, I began to explore Japanese sources on the strange happenings next door, and of course found the "Letters from South Korea" (*Kankoku kara no tsūshin*) run serially in *Sekai* [World] magazine an exceptionally informative and inspiring record.

I did not, however, follow the letters very consistently until they were collected and published in a softcover book under the same Japanese title by Iwanami Shoten (Iwanami Shinsho ["new books"] series No. 905) in August 1974 and especially until a few American friends urged me to consider giving the letters wider exposure by translating them into English. Deeply moved by the eloquent and essentially humanitarian story told by the letters, it seemed worth a try. Shortly after completing the initial translation, a sequel (Iwanami Shinsho series No. 905b) appeared in the summer of 1975, so translation of this second volume was added to provide a longer, single English version.

Serious students of Japanese life and thought know that *Sekai*, founded in December 1945, is one of the most influential of Japan's several first-rate intellectual journals. With strong long-term interests in problems of peace, Asian affairs, and democracy in Japan, *Sekai* in recent years has performed a significant service by reporting events in Korea, North and South, and especially by informing its readers of trends in South Korea.

Sekai's serial publication of "Letters from South Korea," dated from November 1972 to the present, constitutes a major source of information on and insight into the proud but lonely struggle waged by Korean cultural, intellectual and religious circles against the relentless growth of dictatorial power in Korea since martial law was declared in October 1972. As the letters were written under the increasingly harsh and fearful conditions of repression, the author has understandably remained anonymous, though among concerned Japanese, "T. K." is already famous. Combined sales of the 1974 and 1975 paperbacks have already reached 500,000 copies.

The present translation is of those letters contained in the two Iwanami paperbacks (and does not, therefore, include letters by T. K. carried in *Sekai* from July 1975 to the present). Some reference to more recent events is found in both the Foreword and the Postscript; but as Professor Mushakoji's contribution includes an analysis of the Japanese context in which the letters were received and from which they are now forwarded to a wider world audience, so Professor Ogle's contribution provides a necessary perspective for Western and particularly American readers of the English version.

While not a professional translator, I have done some translating during my more than two decades' residence in Japan in hopes of sharing some of the highly important but often neglected materials on this dynamic society. Previous efforts (scientific, urban, and religious studies), however, were very different from this present work. Before, I always either knew personally or had some kind of access to authors, which helped immensely in grasping their overall approach as well as particular meanings. The present translation had to be done without any such contact whatsoever. Another handicap was never having lived and worked among the people and in the land that are the source of the letters. It seemed to me that even the style of the Japanese language of the Iwanami volumes with which I worked was somehow different from what I normally hear and read. But far more problematic than either source or style was the difficulty of selecting English equivalents

suitable to convey the depth and intensity of indignation and aspiration expressed in the letters. The currency of many crucial terms has become so devalued that I sometimes considered using esoteric alternatives. But there are, after all, no real substitutes for "freedom," "justice," "democracy," or even "love." I only hope that the reader will let the richest, the least corrupted meanings of these and other key words guide his reading of the letters, lest their deeper message be missed.

Democratic forces in South Korea have made a deliberate and determined effort to nurture a living language of the people that avoids the pitfalls of the political, ideological rhetoric of both the fascist regime in the South and its communist counterpart in the North. It should not be altogether surprising to Western readers—even those of the Watergate-Lockheed generation—that the language of a democratic movement engaged in a life-and-death struggle should be a decidedly *moral* one. It is not, of course, a politically neutral language but one which in scope and vision almost always transcends presently available political options. It is the spirit of this people's language that I have tried to preserve in English translation.

Most translators would agree, I believe, that "direct" translation is virtually impossible, and all the more so when transposing non-Western material into a Western idiom. I have tried to be scrupulously faithful to the original text, but even more so to its high moral and intellectual *tone*. A recurrent consideration, and one peculiar perhaps to documents originating from within oppressive societies, was that of indefinite references. As the reader will sometimes surely feel, I often wished for greater specificity than "a certain friend" or "not long ago." Assuming that the author had his own reasons for the use of indefinite references, I confined my efforts to supplying some dates and identities readily available from public sources.

Other intrusions upon the original text are also quite limited. Apart from necessary references to the Korean peninsula as a whole or to Korean culture and history prior to division, the terms

“Korea” or “Korean” when used alone in a national sense refer to the South, never the North. Minor rearrangements of textual materials and a few very brief deletions were made. What seemed to be the necessary minimum of explanatory notes was added to clarify less familiar details. Bracketed matter is mine; parentheses include data internal to the text. Honorifics are common in the original, but have been ignored here when it was felt they hampered readability.

Academics might have preferred the romanization of Korean terms to have followed the more accurate McCune-Reischauer system, but consultation with the publisher led to the decision to use “newspaper style” for easier identification of names, places, and other terms with what the general reader normally encounters in the mass media. Romanization of Japanese terms follows *Kenkyusha’s New Japanese-English Dictionary* (1974), and English spellings are generally those of *Webster’s New Collegiate Dictionary* (1973). Korean and Japanese names of persons are given in the East Asian order of surname first, followed by the personal name(s).

Many of the statements, declarations, petitions and even prayers that are quoted in part in this book have recently been published in full in *Documents on the Struggle for Democracy in Korea* (Tokyo: Shinkyō Shuppansha, 1975), which the reader may find an excellent supplement to the letters. As my own translations of quoted portions found in *Documents* preceded its publication, some differences will be seen in wording but not, I am satisfied, in meaning.

Finally, I wish to dedicate my part in making the letters available in English to Ken and Ruth, who have over the years taught me much about human worth and compassion.

DAVID L. SWAIN

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JANUARY 1973

Fascism attacks the church

(Jan. 10)

On December 27, 1972, Park Chung Hee was named the eighth president of the Republic of Korea. Now, as he desired, Park has acquired permanent control of the nation's presidential powers. Seoul, though, is completely calm. Martial law ended at midnight December 13, so perhaps it can be said that things have returned to normal. However, Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) agents have been assigned to all news agencies and broadcasting stations, and censorship continues. The national referendum and election of delegates to the National Conference for Unification were carried out amidst seeming tranquility.¹ If everything transpired as the government wished, it was because, according to widespread feeling, the government managed to make it so. No one was free, after all, to raise any objections.

Still, there is something clearly ominous in the present silence of the Korean masses. Without exception, none dares comment on recent government moves; facial expressions everywhere are somber. Against this gloomy backdrop, a dramatic scene unfolded within the Christian church—the truth of which, because of censorship, is still largely unknown to the public. Two or three days ago I heard from a friend of the circumstances of a certain pastor's arrest. The news bulletin of the pastor's denomination printed a detailed report of his arrest, only to have all copies confiscated just prior to distribution. This incident's central figure was the Reverend Eun Myong Ki, pastor of Nammun Church in Chunju city in Chulla Bukdo province.

It all began on Wednesday, December 13, when the pastor and

his parishioners remained in their church, after a scheduled worship service, to hold an all-night prayer vigil. Soon after, police agents entered the church during the prayer meeting, dismissed the parishioners, and about 11:00 P.M.—on the eve of the cancellation of martial law—removed the pastor from his pulpit to the police station where he was put behind bars.

The political implications of this unprecedented police action of arresting a pastor, especially while a prayer service was in progress, shocked the Korean churches. The long-divided churches and denominations now closed ranks in a unified posture of resistance. The number of worshippers at the Sunday services of Pastor Eun's church swelled during his absence. He explained the background of his arrest as follows.

In October the governor of Chulla Bukdo province visited me to ask that I stress to my parishioners the necessity for promulgating martial law and explain the importance of the October (1972) Revitalization reforms. At that time I pointed out that it was impossible to concur conscientiously with efforts to revise the Constitution while martial law was still in force. Later I was offered a place on the steering committee for constitutional revision, but declined.

Let me quote, though, from the list of official charges filed against Pastor Eun.

The defendant . . . while serving since April 11, 1960 as the resident pastor of Nammun Church, has also engaged in the following: He was a charter member of the Committee for the Defense of Democracy, Chulla Bukdo branch, which was founded April 24, 1971; he was elected chief representative of the committee on the 25th of that month; and on the 26th of that month, on the occasion of the general election [in which Park Chung Hee narrowly defeated Kim Dae Jung], he led a team to oversee the counting of ballots under the name of the committee. He further instigated a public meeting on November 19 of the same year, under the name of the youth group

of his church, to hear a discourse on the present situation, inviting Messrs. Ham Suk Hon and Chang Joon Ha [leading Korean intellectuals] as speakers. He has regularly maintained an antigovernment posture and is opposed to any governmental restrictions on the freedom of the people.

He has been particularly outspoken in his opposition to the declaration of martial law and the revision of the Constitution in order to legitimize the October Revitalization. The charges against him are as follows:

1. That he formulated and spread rumors by saying to Kim Sung Chul, a deacon of his church, in the defendant's home within the precincts of Nammun Church in Chunju, around 3:00 P.M. on October 20, 1972, that "the October Revitalization reforms, which will surely be passed by the referendum, and the Emergency Martial Law are simply means for prolonging the present regime under the guise of seeking North-South unification."
2. That he spread rumors by asking Kim Ik Hwan, a layman in his church, by the path between the manse and the educational building of Nammun Church, around 12:10 P.M. on October 22 of the same year, "What do you think of the dissolution of the National Assembly [on October 17]? Was it right to dissolve it by force?"
3. That he formulated and spread rumors by saying to Kim Sung Chul in the defendant's home, around 11:00 A.M. on November 6 of the same year, "It is already determined that the referendum will pass. This pattern is evident in all world history, in any situation where political activities have been banned. The revision of the constitution for the sake of Revitalization is a means to extend the present regime under the banner of the North-South dialogue. Therefore we must express our opposition to it and, as free men, not allow our freedom to be suppressed." He further spread rumors by saying, "The Emergency Martial Law is for the permanent extension of the present regime

masquerading behind the name of unification.”

Forged into an unspoken unity by the conviction that fascist repression of the church has been inaugurated by this incident, the churches now enter upon a resistance buttressed by the resolution that if one must fall, then let all go down together. The KCIA, knowing well that the churches' resistance will be strong, fears a worsening of the situation. Pastor Eun therefore has been offered his release if he will sign a statement promising to take care that such things not recur—but he refuses to comply, proudly asserting that exercising political judgment is an essential part of his faith.

FEBRUARY 1973

Songs of factory girls

(Feb. 15)

Pastor Eun has been released for what are officially termed “medical reasons.” The Korean churches, fearful of what steps the KCIA might next take, are warily on guard. While oppression of the churches this time was short-lived, the main reason for relaxing it, they feel, is world opinion.

Though Korean society has been forced into a rigid mold, it continues, like a volcanic crater, to smolder and shake. One such tremor that occurred even under martial law happened among factory girls in a textile mill. As labor unions in Korea are almost entirely controlled by the KCIA, they support government policies and, in fact, function as instruments for suppressing labor disputes. Efforts to mount labor activities are easily squelched by branding them “red.”

The initiative to organize a bargaining team and lead a strike under these forbidding circumstances came from the Catholic association of Young Christian Workers and the Protestant Urban-Industrial Mission. Though this initiative involves only a small number of people, the KCIA already finds it quite troublesome—especially due to the international links of these support organizations. Quickly labeled “communist,” the priests and pastors active in this work were arrested, though some were released after twenty-six hours’ detention when their supporting churches protested against such repressive measures. To illustrate this affair we shall here introduce several documents related to the workers’ struggle at the Dae Han Textile Company.

PETITION PRESENTED TO KIM SONG SOB, PRESIDENT OF
THE DAE HAN TEXTILE COMPANY, CONCERNING
REQUIREMENTS TO WORK EIGHTEEN HOURS ON SUNDAYS

As we greet the New Year with hope, we pray for God's blessing on you and this company as it makes its contribution to national economic growth. We have always worked with you day and night for the progress of the Dae Han Textile Company and feel pride in our daily life together as one family in this company. To our humble petition regarding the unfair practices mentioned, we request that you, the President, take remedial action at the earliest possible time.

Grievances

1. We are forced to work eighteen hours from Saturday evening through Sunday noon (specifically, from 6 P.M. on Saturday to 12:00 noon on Sunday); this not only clearly violates the Labor Standards Law, but also is unjust on humanitarian grounds. For weaker female workers this kind of exploitation poses considerable threat to the maintenance of normal health.
2. Not only do people all over the world regard Sunday as a day for rest, it also has been so established by God for that purpose as a faithful and humane commandment, not to be transgressed, we think, for any reason. Moreover, there are among us many Christians who, because of these work demands, suffer the pain of neglecting their Sabbath duties.

Demands

1. We demand that the unfair practice of forcing us to work eighteen hours from Saturday evening to Sunday noon be immediately eliminated.
2. We demand that, in accordance with the Labor Standards Law, a schedule of only eight hours per day and one day of rest per week be observed in both name and practice.
3. When unavoidable circumstances require overtime work, we demand the adoption of procedures whereby only those who volunteer of their own volition will work overtime.

We trust that the President will undertake judicious steps toward a speedy settlement of our petition; should our just demands not be met, we intend to explore every legal means available to rectify the present unfair working conditions in this company.

Such demands inevitably trap industrial leaders in an uncomfortable dilemma. If the demands are met, similar labor activities may easily spread to all workers. Moreover, the government discourages acceding to such demands as an admission of managerial incompetence that may invite even stronger demands. And the government threatens to take over control of companies whose management is too incompetent. One of the handbills circulated among the factory girls vowed:

We intend on this occasion to demand back wages for the unfair practices of having to make test runs without compensation in after-hours or on Sunday mornings, in addition to demands for one day off, with pay, per week and an established schedule of holidays. The thought that our children might someday accuse us of being cowards unwilling to stand up for our rights is unbearable. The suffering of our friends we take as our own; so let us put our minds and strength together to win our just rights!

The determination is asserted "to carry on a legal struggle as workers in a democratic nation . . . until our claims are fulfilled" and "social justice befitting citizens in a democratic society" is advocated. To these was added an affirmation of faith that "we believe God is always on the side of justice."

A handbill dated February 14 and titled "We Appeal For Your Support" included the following lines:

Unable to endure the unfair practices of this company, we girls living in the company dormitory twice pressed our claims as a group, once on the evening of the 7th and again on the morning of the 8th. Afterward, four of us (Ko Song Shin and

three others) were taken to the Yongdongpo police station and interrogated about the actual facts. We believed everything was then completely settled. But on February 12 the company suddenly decided to fire us and on the 13th at 9:30 A.M., while notifying us of our dismissals, ordered us out of the dormitory within ten minutes. Leaving our personal belongings behind, the four of us went into the streets with only the clothes on our backs. With many thoughts running through our heads, we composed this appeal for your support. To all those toiling in government offices, to all those in church and society working for social justice, to all students and intellectuals, we ask that you give heed to our predicament as if we were your own sisters.

Typical of the spirit among the factory girls are the songs they sing, which, in addition to the familiar "We shall overcome" (in Korean translation, of course), include the following two:

TEMPORARY GIRL WORKERS

We work for enough to live on each day,
 Without a day off, like the Labor Laws say,
 But the price of noodles, twelve hours' work don't pay,
 So, change our working conditions. Hey!

Refrain

Fellow workers, get it together,
 For prosperity in our land,
 Fellow workers, rise up together,
 To right things by our hand.

When we get our monthly paychecks,
 Our money worries merely grow,
 Most of it² goes for some rice and the rent—
 Our private debts we still owe.

Lifeless, as if they were poisoned,
Are all those fine young men
Who once promised to work hard for us—
Oh, revive your lost bravery again.

VANGUARDS

Our sisters have always known sorrow,
But with hearts fixed on tomorrow
They fought as a vanguard for right
And quickened our spirits to fight.

Our sisters have always known pain,
But our lives can be ours once again;
When you've cried overnight in a jail,
Nothing 'gainst you can prevail.

Despised and oppressed for so long,
At last we can join in the throng
Struggling for justice and peace in our land,
Along a straight road, hand in hand.

Such is the atmosphere inside a Korean industry geared to lure foreign investments. Not in Korea alone, we must remember, but throughout the world wherever state power is abused by fascist leaders for political and economic gain. The question is, though, how long will this reactionary generation last?

Soon the mountains and meadows of Korea will be splashed pink with blooming azaleas, those harbingers of early spring. Then comes "brutal May"³. . . .

JULY 1973

Senseless politics

(July 10)

On June 23 the government issued a statement of its willingness to accept coexistence of the two political systems of North and South Korea. Specifically, it was stated as “no objection to simultaneous entry of both North and South Korea into the United Nations.” Some ten days before, however, a man was sentenced to prison for having urged—several years ago—that the North Korean government ought to be recognized as a political reality. The victim was Kim Chol, head of the United Socialist Party (USP).

The strange thing about Kim’s case is that, while his verdict was handed down by the Supreme Court, it is nonetheless possible that he may not have to go to jail. He could be excused for “medical reasons.” Even so, his activities would be severely limited by more than any actual illness—principally by the ever-present threat of further arrest, a serious liability to his livelihood. And, of course, court cases can be protracted indefinitely. An expression of penitence could win him a dismissal, though unfavorable impressions always bring convictions. Even if convicted, one’s sentence is sometimes stayed if he promises never to cause trouble again. Needless to say, the defendant lives constantly under fear of sure imprisonment if there is even the slightest deviation from such a promise.

It should be noted that the USP, like all other minor political parties, was dissolved on June 30 under the Law for Revision of Political Parties, which requires a party to secure at least fifty certified members in each of twenty-five electoral districts, for a total of 1,250 members registered by their own legal seals. A valiant campaign by the USP failed to gather the requisite number of

persons brave enough to risk government retaliation. It is hard to get or hold a job if you are on the government's blacklist, and any independent effort in business, however small, can easily be crushed by tax pressures.

Following the June 23 conciliatory statement on coexistence with the North, anticommunist measures in the South have escalated sharply. Giant rallies are planned throughout the nation on the 25th to commemorate "bloody June 25," twenty-third anniversary of the outbreak of the Korean War. The mass media are being mobilized, as one "spy incident" after another is announced. But the citizenry remains unimpressed—least of all by the June 23 statement.

It can be expected that both spy incidents and internal disturbances will multiply. Handbills are widely distributed, only to be branded "subversive." A typical case is the arrest of Rev. Park Hyung Kyu, who is held responsible for the distribution at an Easter sunrise service of four hundred leaflets critical of the government. The leaflet said, in effect, "O God, have mercy on foolish kings." Amid circumstances that forbid all criticisms, a humorous leaflet most uniquely reflects the people's real feelings. It was condemned as part of an alleged scheme to lead the eighty thousand believers assembled for that service in a march to take over the government's main broadcasting and administrative agencies.

Seoul is full of varying interpretations and rumors surrounding this incident. The government's contention is that some ten organizers were to lead the eighty thousand believers in occupying major governmental agencies. Does it really believe so large a crowd, gathered for worship, could be so quickly and so easily organized for so risky a venture? Does it seriously think the crowd would openly challenge the army just to occupy some government buildings? Not a word suggesting such an instigation appears in the distributed leaflet. Or, could it be that the government has at last decided to impose controls on the Christian church, the one body in society not yet submissive to its policies?

While the populace has fallen into sullen silence, it is fairly safe

to say that something is brewing among university students. Recently folk dramas have become very popular on the campuses, though even these are now subject to clearance prior to performance. One friend told me the government will arrest members of small study groups of only four or five persons if they engage in antigovernment discussions. Mere possession of a book on or related to Marxism is enough to be branded a communist. All antigovernment cases are referred to the Blue House (presidential mansion) for further instructions. A person may be cleared of all suspicion in the courts, but no judge can dismiss his case without consent from the Blue House. Who can predict the future of a government like this? Most people simply moan that these are signs of impending collapse.

Most intellectuals still look longingly to Kim Dae Jung, now residing abroad, as the only real political possibility not firmly in Park's hands. They are worried, of course, about what sort of offensive the Park regime may mount against this exiled contender. Are not reports that Kim is in touch with leftist elements abroad, they ask, merely an attempt to undercut his political potential? And what about reports that in America Kim made contact with Koreans who have traveled to North Korea, or in Japan established links with those under "red" influence who have left the pro-Seoul Korean Residents Union in Japan (Mindan)?⁴ The rabid anti-communist ideology that equates any criticism of the government with being sympathetic to, or "soft" on, communism is reaching feverish proportions.

Finally, here is another story heard these days. The June 23 statement on North-South coexistence was issued after Prime Minister Kim Jong Pil returned from visits to several European countries and Japan where, it is said, he was warned about the outdated South Korean foreign policy as well as the undemocratic domestic scene. Therefore, immediately upon his return Kim Jong Pil paid a visit to the heads of the opposition parties, who in turn called on the president for important discussions. Subsequently, many National Assemblymen, including opposition leaders, departed on

overseas junkets to explain the South Korean position. Opposition stalwarts have been giving lectures abroad to convince skeptics that, first, there are strong opposition parties in Korea, and secondly, that they freely support the Park regime.

That this performance is quite painful for the opposition, the Korean people fully realize. Their fear is that this sort of staged show will be taken at face value by foreigners uninformed of the real situation inside Korea. The National Assembly, after all, is only window-dressing to gloss over the political monopoly of one man. The so-called opposition parties completely acquiesced in the October 1972 dissolution of the National Assembly and the Revitalization structures of dictatorship. Hence the current dress performance by, of all people, the opposition parties! Oh, this is really senseless politics. What possible means are left for a struggle to restore democracy in this land? Or, will the people in a final act of resignation simply come to affirm this deplorable system? Must they be shaken again and again—by public opinion, by rumors, by leaflets, even by “false reports”—lest they fall into so fatal a slumber?

AUGUST 1973

Naked power

(Aug. 15)

In the dark of night on the 13th of this month Kim Dae Jung, bruised from head to foot, returned to his home in Seoul.⁵ This shocking display of naked power sent a chilling shudder into the already numbed hearts of Seoul's citizens. Before tracing the process leading up to this event, however, I want to mention two or three other matters.

There is a rumor that the former chief of the Korean Central Intelligence Agency, Kim Hyong Uk, has gone into exile in America. Was he purged for political reasons? Was he privy to some inside story too "hot" to handle? Or, was he caught, despite his high position, in some sort of conspiracy, as one wild rumor suggests? Various explanations of these many rumors do not allay the surprise with which news of his flight to America is received here. After all, he publicly proclaimed himself a believer in "the religion of Park Chung Hee," ready to serve him at all times, when he relinquished the KCIA post he held from 1963 to 1970.

Having first amassed great wealth, Kim Hyong Uk later won a seat in the National Assembly as a ruling party representative; the government's anxiety arises from his recent position in the KCIA and thus his intimate knowledge of the government and those who dominate it. During the 1971 presidential election between Park Chung Hee and Kim Dae Jung, he contributed to the latter's campaign fund—a precautionary gesture just in case power changed hands. Because this was recently exposed, he was unable to secure even an honorary seat in the new National Assembly, and it is said this is why he sought refuge in America. His case is a good

example of the political atmosphere surrounding the present ruling elite.

In another recent development the Ministry of Education announced that university professors may not publish reports of their research without prior approval from the government. This move was precipitated by the publication by a fisheries scholar of the results of his research on sea pollution near the Ulsan industrial zone. According to July 28 news releases, the ministry claims "the [uninhibited] publication of research results runs the danger, despite good intentions, of creating a public scandal."

The Korean government deals with such matters not only by publicly issued directives. One professor demonstrated that Korean instant noodles were made of such low-grade ingredients that a laboratory rabbit, fed them continuously, died. As these results were about to be reported, a KCIA agent arrived to squelch them. The KCIA keeps an eye on everything and interferes in anything, large or small—though discreet overlooking of small matters, for a price, is an everyday occurrence. If no one is permitted to expose such cases, the fishing industry may very well succumb to indiscriminate polluting, while the government, too busy trumpeting economic growth, does nothing. Where and how will the indignation of a brooding populace vent itself toward oppression like this?

Again, it is pertinent to consider the government's posture toward minority political parties like the United Socialist Party mentioned in our previous letter. Because he urged recognition of the North Korean government as the actual political reality in the North, party head Kim Chol was sentenced to imprisonment and suspension of civil rights for one year, with a two-year stay of execution. Final sentence was fixed, without right of appeal, on June 12, or eleven days before President Park issued his June 23 proposal for simultaneous U.N. entry for both North and South Korea. Thus, Kim Chol was effectively shut out of the USP; a convicted criminal could not be recognized as the responsible head of a political party.

Moreover, as the USP failed to meet the June 30 deadline for

filing its report in line with the Law for Revision of Political Parties, it was dissolved by government order. The troublesome report legally could have been filed up to midnight of that day, but from 5:00 P.M. the officials of the Elections Administration Board were not to be found. Reports from two of the twenty-five electoral districts were completed only on that evening—after the election officials disappeared—and thus could not be filed (some electoral districts alleged that reports were never filed). The USP thus failed to fulfill the legal obligation of filing reports on certified members in requisite numbers in all twenty-five electoral districts.

This matter was, of course, taken to court. Apart from little hope of receiving a fair ruling from a judiciary completely subservient to government directives, just when a ruling will be handed down is also uncertain. Meanwhile, the party's activities are frozen. This is interpreted as a move to prevent the North Korean delegation from referring to it as a "revolutionary party" during the North-South conversations, as well as getting rid of yet another source of criticism.

Forcing its now convicted leader to resign, the United Socialist Party has set about regrouping itself by forming a Preparatory Founding Committee. It will face virtually insurmountable odds, but this weakened party has no alternative other than to go completely out of existence. Let us quote several lines from its statement of proposed aims—for we sense in this frail voice something akin to the Korean people's own desire to arise and reconstitute themselves despite the present travail.

Boldly addressing ourselves to the urgent demands of our national⁶ history, we hereby declare our intention to found again the United Socialist Party.

A party of the people based on the urgent demands of our national destiny cannot be liquidated by the opportunistic disposition of the ruling authorities.

The deeply-rooted revolutionary tradition of our national history preserved today by the democratic socialist line is the only means to free our country from its subordinate status, to

establish its autonomy, to overcome the present threat of a complete sellout of its economy and guarantee sound self-reliant growth, to realize freedom, equality and justice in our society, and further, to overcome by our own authentic national principles the present division of our country under two different systems of rule, and also to carry out a progressive reunification of our people.

As long as foreign powers are free to pursue their own interests on our soil, as long as our people groan under an oppressive system, as long as the masses are deprived of jobs and a decent living, and as long as our people remain separated, no power can crush this conviction of ours.

Too long in our society have human dignity, social conscience and national pride been crushed underfoot, while the masses are manipulated by fear, phony phrases and corruption; this society cries out for a social reformation that comes not from the outside, but from its own innermost depths. It is our conviction that this cry is for neither communism nor capitalism, but for a democratic socialist reformation rooted in our own national consciousness.

In this statement the oppressive state of affairs is reflected, but the oppressors are not identified. As with those who kidnapped and abused Kim Dae Jung, they are part of a large and well-trained organization taking orders from higher up, but specifying even the higher echelon is difficult. The more repressive it becomes, though, the more likely are the energies of the masses to be driven underground. Increasingly fearful of this possibility, the oppressing power bares itself more and more until it is completely naked. Reason, law, order—these no longer count, only brute force.

A certain university president recently refused to sanction the elected student president of the campus self-government association, the reason being that student's criticism of the university during a speech announcing his candidacy. The subsequent flare-up of student resentment matched that of the April 19, 1960 student revolt that overthrew former President Syngman Rhee, and the

university was forced to close down. Large numbers of students were arrested. In a similar action at a high school where students sought the expulsion of a particular teacher, more than one hundred riot police were mobilized; in the confusion that ensued, several windows were broken. A number of the high school students were arrested on charges of destroying property. The students in both cases were subjected to brutal physical abuse in order to implant terror in the hearts of all young people. The authorities fully realize that hatred toward the government had, in these cases, merely erupted inwardly on the campuses themselves.

On university campuses there is an increase in the number of students whose true identity is concealed. Under the guise of students designated by the military for advanced study, KCIA agents and other government operatives are moving into Seoul National University. Teacher appointments and dismissals in both public and private high schools are being taken over by the government so that it can plant its agents also in these institutions. The militarization of all public life is clearly the goal of the Park regime.

Keeping watch on the Kim Dae Jung affair

(Aug. 15)

To understand the abduction of Kim Dae Jung, it is helpful to begin with an assessment of public attitudes toward the opposition parties in present-day Korea. In a word, none exist. It can hardly be expected that a man like Park Chung Hee, who monopolizes all executive, legislative and judicial powers and engages in any illegality with impunity, would tolerate the existence of any person or group critical of himself. The so-called opposition parties exist merely to maintain—for the sake of international relations—the pretense that there is political freedom in South Korea. Domestically, their function is to persuade the people that Park's "Korean-style democracy" has some meaning. At times opposition parties are allowed to go through the motions of discussing the people's complaints, on the theory that such simulation actually contributes to controlling the people. That the Park regime does not openly

adopt one-party rule merely demonstrates the cleverness of its fascism.

Most people view any opposition party members who act with some freedom as simply permitted, if not, in fact, ordered to do so by the government or its Central Intelligence Agency. Indeed, the greater the apparent freedom of an opposition party member, the closer he actually is, we can assume, to the ruling party.

A popular nickname for Yu Jin San, present head of the New Democratic Party, is "Stooge." From time to time he feigns criticism of the government, but at decisive moments he invariably runs to Park Chung Hee's side. In self-justification he calls this "flexible political realism." At the last moment in the 1971 presidential election it is reported that he sold out his Seoul electoral district to Park Chung Hee's nephew-in-law, a man named Chang Kuk Chin. For this he won the lasting wrath of the people and was politically demolished by a vicious attack from Kim Dae Jung. Or, so it seemed. In less than a year he staged a comeback with KCIA backing. Likewise, Yang Il Dong of the Democratic Unification Party (DUP)⁷ was censured as a "stooge." Certainly Yang does not enjoy the public trust.

I would personally like to ask Mr. Yang what he thinks can be done inside Korea, as he hints, to rescue Kim Dae Jung. Why did he not call the police in Japan to urge asylum and protection for Kim there?⁸ It is outrageous for one who stands with the executioners to propose rescuing the condemned. Can a master of deception like him fail to see this? He should know that the Korean people regard him only as a clever though pathetic actor in a scenario produced by those in power. Likewise, they see the so-called opposition parties as puppets completely manipulated by the government.

It could hardly be otherwise, given the opposition's concurrence with what the ruling party Assemblymen have been saying in their lectures this summer in America and Japan. Park Chung Hee, they declare, is a great leader, the October Revitalization was a great step forward, and the ruling and opposition parties are harmoniously

—and miraculously—carrying on government business in a spirit of brotherly love and dialogue. . . . Yu Jin San got as far as Hawaii in this campaign, but declined to go further. Those Assemblymen who had gone on ahead of him to the mainland found themselves vigorously questioned, and shamed, by Korean residents in America, not to mention the very cool reception given by U.S. politicians, especially to opposition party members. Mr. Yu, of course, denies this, claiming that party business dictated his hurried return home. Indeed, Yu Jin San says that he would like to visit the U.S. to dispel any notions that Kim Dae Jung retains leadership in the NDP.

The general public knew nothing of Kim Dae Jung's whereabouts; his name came to no one's lips, as all know Park Chung Hee detests hearing Kim's name in any connection. Even so, on his return from Hawaii, Yu Jin San let slip the comment that Kim Dae Jung was reportedly in Tokyo, but he knew not where and thus could not meet him, but would like to sometime. This slip of the tongue was reported in the newspapers. Perhaps it was an inexcusable *faux pas* on Yu's part. On the other hand, the Korean Embassy in Japan has disclaimed any knowledge of Kim; and contrary to all reasonable expectations, the KCIA operatives in Japan were the first to deny that they were pursuing Kim. Any claim that the KCIA has not maintained surveillance of an important figure like Kim Dae Jung can only make any Korean wonder if there are no limits to brazen dishonesty. We all know very well that the intelligence network at home extends to even the least significant person. To be asked to swallow another of the government's shameless lies makes us choke on our own fury.

Admittedly, not a few opposition party members, and particularly those hobnobbing with the ruling party, are under heavy pressures to toe the government line. Many politically active persons were, after all, thrown into jail last October when martial law was imposed, and the physical torture they suffered defies description. Even now, politicians, including some National Assemblymen, are hauled off to be threatened and mercilessly

beaten. As one friend told me, "Torture of spies from the North includes new methods added to those experienced under Japanese rule. Ever since the Park regime came to power the methods of torture have steadily escalated, until torture itself is the purpose, not extracting information. People are arrested not because they did something, but merely because their overall record of cooperation is found lacking. The goal is to terrorize, and the trend now goes beyond physical torture to include mental torment. Some, it is said, are thrown into rooms swarming with defanged snakes. Can you believe that? Of course, it is quite possible that some of these stories are spread by the government itself to discourage criticism. . . ."

The politicians' allegiances, whether to Yu Jin San's New Democratic Party or Yang Il Dong's Democratic Unification Party, actually depend, we hear, on instructions from the KCIA. Winning or losing an election, like statements and actions of the parties, all derive from KCIA decisions.

Up to now the authorities have been rather lenient toward intellectuals. Immediately after martial law began there was a period of coerced conformity, but we have since been permitted at least the freedom of silence. This summer a number of university professors joined the majority party Assemblymen on the lecture junkets to America, but their contribution was worthless, possibly because they tried to argue that people in the U.S. had been prematurely led astray regarding Kim Dae Jung. Seeing no fault in themselves, they accuse others—as if the one who impedes a bandit is to be blamed. The students treat these subservient scholars with extreme indifference, though we hear some professors have been assaulted by students. Most intellectuals expect the domestic situation to fall under much stricter controls following the Kim Dae Jung incident, including inescapable pressures to express open support for the government.

This letter already is too long, but one fundamental reaction of the people to Kim Dae Jung needs mentioning. Seoul newspapers initially reported on August 9, only briefly, that "Kim Dae Jung was

abducted in Tokyo by five Korean-speaking youths.” On the 10th the newspapers reported that the Korean government, through its ambassador in Japan, had requested “complete guarantee of Kim’s safety” and “demanded an investigation of the facts” and asserted “the Korean government knows nothing” of this incident. Among reports on the 11th, this item stood out: “Two North Korean cigarettes were found in the hotel room from which Kim was taken.” Newspapers on the 13th carried a press interview with Yang Il Dong in which he placed emphasis on the fact that when he called Kim’s bodyguard by telephone, fifteen minutes elapsed before he appeared (thus casting doubts on the bodyguard’s credibility). I would like to hear what is being said and printed in Japan just now (a privilege too much to hope for), for I am sure a comparison of what is reported there with the news we get here would very clearly reveal the intentions of the Korean government.

Headlines on the 14th announced “KIM DAE JUNG BROUGHT BACK TO SEOUL HOME,” and the rest of the front page was completely covered with fairly detailed accounts given by Kim himself. Such comments on this as could be found elsewhere, however, were quite restrained, and not one columnist or editorial discussed this affair.

What was the unadulterated reaction of the Korean people to this traumatic event? First and foremost, that the KCIA had once again carried out one of its outrageous schemes. Only the KCIA is capable of committing crimes on this scale. Everyone, with Kim Dae Jung, would like to shout this from the housetops; but, like him, no one dares. Only where a government enforces complete silence on its people and news media can such a frightful exercise of violence by government happen. As for the alleged perpetrators of this dark deed, the “Phantom Patrol” of the “Federation of Action Groups to Save the Nation”—of course no such group exists. Apart from the government itself no one possesses the strength or freedom even to conceive of this kind of scheme for execution inside Korea, much less carry out a complicated international exploit.

The people are as altogether powerless as the government is absolutely almighty. Quite symbolic of this disparity is the mid-night-to-dawn curfew—the government can freely commit injustices while the people are not on the streets. Order is maintained to protect the bandit, which is really frightening when the bandit is your own government. Illegal manipulations of the elections, for example, are largely done during curfew times when the people are confined to their homes. When the people are wholly powerless and the government almighty, then all twenty-four hours of each day are like a curfew. As far as most Koreans are concerned, then, it is perfectly clear that only the government's power is sufficient for mounting such a conspiracy; they know from long experience. Outrageous big deal or dirty little trick, the sly hand of government, they know, is behind both.

Under Park's regime numerous terrorist incidents, including murders, have occurred, but not one has ever been cleared up. More than a dozen have been attacks on prominent public figures. The government in each case gets excited and claims it will arrest and sternly punish the culprits. If opposition Assemblymen try to set up an investigating committee, though, it is invariably vetoed, and case after case ends in obscurity. Not once has an offender been apprehended. Meanwhile, the people are so busy with their own daily affairs that in time they tend to forget these incidents, permitting the authorities to push them into oblivion. Some judicial display accompanies each case, of course, and occasionally, for really big ones, a scapegoat suspect is produced and sentenced. Once the matter begins to fade from the public's memory, the framed convict is secretly released from prison, and a few have been allowed to emigrate abroad. In the "Korean Keeler" case⁹ that caused such a sensation in 1970, victim Chong In Suk's elder brother was tagged as her assassin, though today no one knows what happened to him or his family.

When we first learned of Kim Dae Jung's abduction, our thoughts ran back over the history of terrorism, particularly political killings,¹⁰ in our country since liberation from the Japa-

nese. Those assassinated include such men as the conservative anti-Syngman Rhee patriots Song Jin Wu and Chang Dok Su, and progressive patriots like Yo Un Hyong, as well as Kim Ku (assassinated in 1949), who headed the Korean Provisional Government in China until 1945. As the dirty hands of those in power were behind all these assassinations, they were all hushed up. Assassins were occasionally arrested, but later released from prison to lead normal lives hidden from public view. Kim Ku's assassin (a man named Ahn) was later released and reinstated in the army as an artillery officer. Once the authorities clamped the lid on, no case could come to light. Since the 1945 liberation, terrorism has always been the tool of those in power to use against the people, never the reverse. And its use has become more frequent and vicious under the Park regime.

Even in Korea an official cover-up merely intensifies public concern—as with Watergate in the U.S.—about who was involved. However, here the system for dealing with any word or action of criticism or opposition has its strategic command in the Blue House, where our “emperor” resides, ready to take more drastic steps than anyone. Everyone's fate is in his hands, so no official dares to challenge his decrees. Should the results of carrying out his orders prove disastrous, lower officials must take the blame. Officials who hesitate to commit crimes (and blunders) for Park, seeking rather their own safety, bring down the “emperor's” wrath and condemnation upon themselves for lack of courage and loyalty. Naturally, loyal officials who take responsibility for untoward events by resigning are never forgotten, but generously rewarded, by the Park regime.

What will happen in the Kim Dae Jung affair? It depends on how cleverly the usual methods of covering up terrorist measures at home can be applied to an international case. It will most likely be an exercise in deception, not investigation, waiting until public reaction cools and memories fade. Once this incident is no longer fresh in the public mind and few care any longer, the perpetrators of this event will probably move ahead with whatever scheme they

have in mind.

By his miraculous survival, though, Kim Dae Jung has become a national symbol—one which Park Chung Hee has little reason to leave untouched. How will Park eventually crush him? While many agonize over this question, our immediate concern is for Kim's welfare and whether he will be able to go abroad again. If he does get outside Korea again, then he must quickly complete his mission and come back among the suffering people here. If world opinion rallies behind him, perhaps he can again work dauntlessly for the people. But the greatest anxiety for us in Korea is whether he can ever be safe here. . . .

Certainly we cannot expect the Park regime to be concerned for his safety—it lacks even one iota of good will. The annihilation of all its enemies is its only concern, for it has come to believe this alone is its way to survive. Whatever force it was that saved Kim Dae Jung from death, this alone is our real hope. To think that the only force which could make the ruling power of this country yield in some way is a force outside this country, and that on it we must depend—this thought makes the ache in our hearts almost unbearable. We firmly believe this helping hand to be, more than anything else, the humanity and conscience of the Japanese people, backed by a concerned press, and we are deeply grateful for their encouragement and support.

SEPTEMBER 1973

Mania for a personality cult

(Sept. 20)

Why was it important to kidnap Kim Dae Jung and create such a sensation? What background factors can help explain it? One factor is the current attempt to build up a personality cult around Park Chung Hee as part of the Korean system of social controls. My own opinion on this effort might be discounted as the prejudice of a critic of the present government, so let me quote from the unpublished commentary of a foreign correspondent, which bears the title "A new hero worship in Asia."

"His every thought and his tireless energy are wholly dedicated to the future of our people. By his unbounded kindness and complete sincerity we are led forward continuously in progress toward a better future. . . .

"He sets new faith aflame in our hearts, and from our labors brings forth a national harvest without equal."

Is the great hero lauded here Chairman Mao? Chairman Kim Il Sung? Superman? Not any of these. The object of all this praise is Korea's own daring, dauntless Park Chung Hee.

After sweeping away all political opposition in last October's complete takeover of power, Park has been surrounded by efforts to elevate him to hero status. These efforts would attribute to him all national strength, all state decisions, all creative ideas.

This is, of course, no easy task. A man of few words, Park has no charisma whatsoever. Still, no newspaper in the country could last more than a day without printing pictures of the stern-faced Park grouped with his officials or meeting foreign

dignitaries. Moreover, his portrait now decorates the walls of every Sae Ma Ul (New Village) meeting hall being built in Korea's many villages.

Even worse, school children are being taught songs that praise the president. Nor can one go to a movie without seeing news reviews full of his accomplishments.

The credit for all industrial progress is his: "The remarkable growth in industry is due to cooperation of the people with the leadership of our wise and brave president."

Any progress in agriculture as well is attributed directly to him: "President Park's knowledge and experience in agriculture is well known, as are his enduring efforts to improve the lot of farmers. Out of his rich background have come the mature judgments leading to the concept of the Sae Ma Ul Movement. . . ."

President Park holds only one press conference each year. The general public rarely have a chance to see him. A recently published book nonetheless has this to say: "The pulse of the president's will beats throughout this land to every shore, awakening us from a 5,000-year slumber to go forward to ever greater achievements in the future." To cap this effort, Park's public relations man has emblazoned the country with the slogan "Let us take up our shovels and follow President Park."

So long as democratic processes in Korea remained alive, creation of a personality cult like this did not, could not happen. Now that Park's control of the presidency has become permanent, the people who must obey him are told that they also ought to love him.

To these words of a foreign reporter I need not add many of my own. Suffice it to say that these lofty sentiments are not echoed by the people. Hence, the official voicing of them may gradually become hysterical, while anxiety grows over what other realities and personalities really occupy the minds of a silent and sullen populace. It was such a ruling group, a regime affected by this mania for a personality cult, that abducted Kim Dae Jung from his

hotel room in Tokyo.

A voice in the midst of silence

(Sept. 20)

“Kim Dae Jung was murdered.” “Park’s regime is waiting for him to capitulate.” “They may be giving Kim drugs to dull his wits and sap his energy.” Speculations like these are being passed from person to person. No one expects Kim Dae Jung simply to be left alone by the government; the widespread suspicion is founded on long experience. Overjoyed that Kim Dae Jung has come back alive, intellectuals in Korea are nonetheless overcome with despair at seeing the last great wave of anti-Park opposition come to an end.

The government is concerned, of course, to turn the people’s minds away from the affair. The press is made to work overtime to unravel and publicize some ordinary robberies; the Home Ministry, vowing to track down the culprits, ordered the police and national guard to make a surprise midnight search of homes—obviously to intimidate people who are much too curious about the Kim Dae Jung case.

From the very moment that the Kim Dae Jung story broke, the Korean people were convinced it was the KCIA’s doing. Then, when the Japanese government announced that the fingerprints of Kim Dong Woon, first secretary of the ROK Embassy in Tokyo, had been found in the hotel room from which Kim was abducted, the people thought surely the Japanese side would not allow the case to slip into inconclusive oblivion. Nowadays, though, it is beginning to look like the Korean side will be able to manage an effective cover-up after all. If so, the Koreans will find it hard to control their harsh feelings toward Japan, and they will be thoroughly disgusted with the Korean government. Unadulterated contempt for those in power will intensify, and their already considerable determination to believe nothing the ruling group says will further harden.

While such intense feelings rage within, not a word of protest is

heard. The Kim Dae Jung affair is the major topic of discussion among intellectuals, the source of boundless pain, anger and grief. However, the only effort to cast off this spell—even a little—was an editorial by Sunwoo Hui, editor-in-chief of the *Chosun Ilbo* daily newspaper, titled “WHAT WE REALLY WANT FROM THE GOVERNMENT—THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE SETTLEMENT!” One lone voice has broken the gloomy silence.

One middle-aged gentleman close to the ruling party scornfully ventured, “A lot of heroes seem to be cropping up these days—first Kim Dae Jung, then Park Hyung Kyu, and now Sunwoo Hui.” (Park Hyung Kyu, a pastor, is currently on trial.) Editor Sunwoo Hui is viewed with some reservations not only by the government but also by press executives. He is thought a “hero” only by the helpless people. Candid by nature, it is said that he would really like to go back to his life as a novelist and just pursue his own interests.

As usual, the newspapers so far have issued no editorials or comments on Kim Dae Jung’s case. In this vacuum Sunwoo Hui decided to run a preliminary feeler of his own, some “impressions” written “at 1:00 A.M. on the morning of August 14,” in that day’s issue of his *Chosun Ilbo*.

Since reading the news in Korea today requires considerable skill at reading between, or even behind, the lines, some comments should be added here. First of all, the entire column oozes with the tone one might use in placating an ill-tempered child, as if to say, “Don’t fret; do a little better next time, and everyone will forgive you.” When one’s adversary is officialdom, some restraint is always advisable; but when that adversary stands on his fortress wall brandishing a sword, then it is mandatory. And the ruffians running Korea today are possessed with a siege mentality. As Park Chung Hee asserted during the 1969 general referendum on his third presidential term, “Only when I die will I vacate this [presidential] seat.”

One political scientist put it succinctly: “In underdeveloped countries, those who are in power determine the form of the state

and the nature of the political system. They can choose or dispense with democracy as they please." Toward the end of Syngman Rhee's presidency, editor Sunwoo once challenged a high government official who charged that Koreans are not ready for democracy, by retorting, "The most backward rural people understand democracy far better than you, and what is more, sincerely desire it." It is precisely because persons in power make such charges that there is so much misery; the officials themselves make democracy impossible. Reflecting that mood, Sunwoo must have written his editorial with a feeling of "reading the [Buddhist] canons to oxen's ears"—more out of duty than for effect.

Highly resentful of the daily intrusions of the KCIA upon press functions, Sunwoo Hui is reputed to be ever on the watch for unique opportunities to demonstrate the freedom of the press. Separation into morning and evening newspapers has been compulsory since Park came to power; of the two historically most important papers, the *Dong-A Ilbo* was made an evening paper, the *Chosun Ilbo* a morning paper. Thus, as chief editor, Sunwoo Hui saw his golden opportunity to make his cherished thrust for press freedom in the last city edition of the *Chosun Ilbo* (scheduled for delivery the following morning). Late at night the KCIA, like the company president, would have most likely gone home. The editor's prerogative to change an editorial at the last moment provided the opening for his surprise attack. A guerrilla-like tactic such as this could be used only once; both the boss and the KCIA would see that it did not happen again. Having waited long for a most propitious time, Sunwoo Hui finally decided to make his midnight move, knowing well it could be his last. The entire text of his editorial follows.

WHAT WE REALLY WANT FROM THE GOVERNMENT
THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE SETTLEMENT!
(*Chosun Ilbo*, September 7, 1973)

Our feelings these days are those of depression and heartbreak from wanting to know what we cannot find out and wanting to discuss what we cannot mention. What we wish to know

and discuss is, in a word, the truth about Kim Dae Jung. If it is said that the case is under investigation, and until the results are known we have no alternative but to wait, and therefore it is no use pressing the matter further—then our heartbreak is all the more painful.

In addition to utter amazement at learning that, having once disappeared, Kim Dae Jung has now reappeared in the dead of night practically on our doorstep, we are relieved with joy in the midst of sorrow that he whom we feared dead is among us again. Spared the sad and tragic darkness that would have been felt here and abroad had he been assassinated, we can know instead how bright is the light of human rescue.

While this joy within sorrow lasts, it is of utmost importance, as we urged in our comments on the day after his return, to get a fully satisfactory settlement of the incident at the earliest possible time. This must be done in conjunction with Japan, where it began. At the same time, the five youths who are known to have abducted Kim and brought him to Korea must in due course surrender and stand trial. To date, however, the five youths have not come forth; and until reports of the government's investigation are also forthcoming, we are left in the dark with no facts to consider. But, this is only logic for logic's sake.

Basically, man is endowed with the power of free thought and reasonable powers of observation and imagination. Why, then, would our people be confused and shaken by merely knowing what should be known? What are those in charge of the investigation doing? If they are moving ahead as fast as they can, then what progress can be reported on cooperation with the investigation undertaken by Japan? The people have a right, we believe, to know the facts regarding these questions.

This has nothing to do with the normal tendency to make arbitrary inferences and speculations about a public sensation, or even with the need to resolve one's own distress in the

absence of some definite settlement. We can easily guess what an abnormal effect the Kim Dae Jung case will have on public opinion in friendly nations like America and Japan which exert such enormous influence on our national development. Thus, our main anxiety is that a black cloud may be cast over the present and future prospects of our top national [state] priorities of prosperity and progress toward which we are all striving. If only that fear can be resolved, the mood of the general public is, quite candidly, to forget this affair quickly and never think of it again.

Within the trends of Japanese public reactions conveyed to us there are some points, it is true, that somehow do not accord with what is in our own hearts, though we are not able at this time to put the differences into words.

On reflection, what country would fail to be concerned about such an incident? What people would throw out their chests and laugh it off?

Far more urgent than condemning the unpleasant reactions of others is the need for a truly satisfactory settlement of this affair among ourselves. After the case is properly settled is by no means too late to talk about how isolated we felt because of others' reactions which seemed contemptuous or unpleasant. Now is not the time for this sort of thing.

To be reminded over and over of one's dependence on economic aid is demoralizing for people in any developing country, and we react, not without reason, by recalling June 25, 1950 [outbreak of the Korean War], or the division of our land, or even the thirty-six years under Japanese domination, and taste again the present chagrin of being a small and weak power surrounded by superpowers whose rivalry stifles progress in our country.

To recall these things does not, however, remove the yoke of national disgrace which this incident has cast upon us, and however hateful our thoughts of Japan and the Japanese may be, the humiliation they suffer because of the affair cannot

compare with our own. The Kim Dae Jung case calls for much more than countering one's emotions against another's. No matter who committed the crime, it does not add to our honor. In a contest of feelings we Koreans place an unfair handicap on the Japanese—though the outcome would embarrass us as much as has the incident itself. At the very least, if we are to face Japan on equal terms, we must silently refrain from counterattacks and respect the criticisms that come. It is especially wrong to make the situation more difficult for cooperative and discreet Japanese government officials and for those Japanese friendly toward us.

Consider the most extreme possibilities. Suppose our relations with America or Japan should take a serious turn for the worse; it absolutely must never be occasioned by this kind of incident. Or, suppose the feelings between us and friendly peoples should sour; never should an affair like this one be the catalyst.

The more we think of it, the clearer it becomes that the Kim Dae Jung case is regarded by the vast majority of the people, who are entirely unrelated to him personally, as a disgusting and intolerable disaster. Admittedly, there are some who feel that Kim Dae Jung may have triggered the whole affair by his activities overseas after going into exile. But even on this theory the fate he suffered is too gruesome and his present condition too miserable. It is absurd to have to listen to someone's lectures on democracy because of this incident, over one quarter of a century since our republic was founded.

Even if the problems involving our allies do not precipitate any decisive misfortune, we must take care above all that this case not end in a vague, inconclusive way. The people have an obligation to insist that the authorities bring it to a prompt and fair conclusion.

We believe this to be a moral issue of fundamental value to the existence of the nation and the survival of our people. As all aspects of the case become clear, a few—or possibly many—

persons in various positions may be implicated and have to stand trial in the courts. However, whenever laws are broken or when extremist activity erupts in any country, if the offenders are dealt with openly in accordance with the laws, that society can regain its trust at home and abroad, and its people can sweep aside misery and be morally healed.

If a nation fails to proceed this way and collapses, then even glory like Babylon's is vain and its people cannot escape spiritual ruin. This fate we should fear above all else. Seen in these terms, it should be quite clear that turning the case inside out is far more important for the recovery of human dignity and a high level of moral pride among us Koreans ourselves than any attention paid to attitudes or actions taken toward us by our allies, be they American or Japanese.

At this crucial juncture, our deepest desire is for a high-minded and resolute decision from the highest levels of our nation's statesmen and officials. Today the mountains and rivers bequeathed to us by our ancestors are shaded by rich, green growth; staple grains ripen in the fields; a bird's song rises in the sky; a calf's bleat drifts leisurely over the meadows. Wagons wind across the hills and dales, and the villages are bursting with human activity. Soon the people will make cakes from the new rice to offer to their ancestors' spirits. These people—whence comes the chilling fear that dampens their spirits? These innocent and law-abiding people—why must their hearts be troubled? O God! Send down thy forgiveness and blessing upon us!

The first and last paragraphs of this editorial are a beautiful portrayal—on a level far above the authorities' mentality—of the people's passion and prayer. The passion revealed therein is the intense indignation that all Koreans have long harbored in their breasts. No one wants to make senseless sacrifices, yet the sense of personal shame is enough to rip open each heart. Such feelings are especially intense in those young people who will soon return to the campuses this fall. The KCIA is more on guard than ever.

The anxiety over Kim Dae Jung's life, depicted in the second paragraph, is commonly felt among Koreans. It is an anxiety expressed as a prayer that his life be spared, at least in order to avoid the domestic and international reactions sure to arise if he is killed. It also reflects resentment at his being treated as a criminal suspect.

It is most irritating not to be able to challenge directly the government's position. This affair far exceeds the upper limits of tolerance toward speaking out in Korea. As the KCIA was surely behind the case, to demand that the offenders be tried and punished is to defy the government itself. The press and its readers, like those in power, all know this so well. Circumspection thus requires disclaimers: Kim Dae Jung's political activities are not condoned in their entirety, and there may even be some reason for the angry actions taken against him. Here we see the editor's own agony: perhaps this is as much as he could say in his newspaper, or did he lack the courage to say more? Or, it can be argued that it is better to try and placate the situation while trying to save face, rather than antagonize the Park regime. Too many have, after all, experienced the painful consequences of pushing too far at great sacrifice, only to end in despair and defeat.

The real culprit, the government, is making every effort at self-justification, and it hopes, I suspect, to cover up its own guilt by pinning the blame on some scapegoat. The KCIA chief also speaks of mounting an attack against Japanese public opinion by presenting to the National Assembly a list of charges related to the thirty-six years of Japanese rule over Korea. The opposition stooges are climbing on the bandwagon by asserting this is a national crisis transcending party interests—quite possibly because they would like to divert discussions from the truth about the Kim Dae Jung incident.

These maneuverings are most unseemly. Editor Sunwoo Hui would like to see them stopped, even for the government's sake, for they cannot succeed, and the motives are too transparent. At this point, with its own image muddled, the government gains

nothing by its anti-Japanese outcries. The Korean people know only too well what is behind such clamors, coming from a group of government leaders who have already gone a long way toward selling out the country to their Japanese counterparts. In fact, the Park regime is most apprehensive lest the mood it has conjured up grow into a genuine anti-Japanese movement that would then turn upon the government itself.

Not only is the anti-Japanese campaign ill-advised, it is also more than the government can bring off. According to many young people with whom I have talked, if the Korean government decides to make Kim Dae Jung a sacrificial lamb, and if the Japanese government becomes its willing accomplice, then there may well erupt, they say, a genuine, massive anti-Japanese movement from among the Korean people. Japan need not fear an anti-Japanese move engineered by the Park regime, but should follow a proper course dictated by its own moral principles. Instead of pursuing what is right, Japan is too prudent and vacillating. Let the Japanese be forewarned of the Korean people's condemnation if they can do no better than calculate their own benefit regardless of what happens. Our fervent wish is that the Japanese will be neither so easily excited, nor so callously indifferent, over the Kim Dae Jung affair.

The moral resolution which editor Sunwoo Hui seeks from the Korean officials—is it not equally to be expected of the Japanese statesmen? Sunwoo asked for “a high-minded and resolute decision from the highest levels.” Was this final plea not made with the distressing thought in mind that Park Chung Hee, ringleader in this international crime, might somehow come through the affair untainted, with charges of deception leveled instead at Prime Minister Kim Jong Pil or KCIA chief Lee Hu Rak? Rather than simply denounce Park's brutality, which he knows too well, the editor aims at the broader need to bring all possible international and domestic pressure to bear on the case. In his reference to “dependence on economic aid” he shows some sympathy for Park's situation, yet seeks to turn these lines into a warning of possibly

severe difficulties.

While marked by such counterbalanced emphases and purposely softened phrases, the editorial as a whole nonetheless creates a crucial forum for the commonly felt grievances of the people, particularly in the final climactic plea for God's "forgiveness and blessing" on behalf of the "innocent and law-abiding people." In doing so, does he not signal the inevitable course of public opinion in Korea today?

OCTOBER 1973

“The bandit’s beating”

(Oct. 1)

It is no exaggeration to say that Kim Dae Jung, presently under house arrest, is the focus and symbol of the many troubles plaguing Korea today.

The opening of the 88th National Assembly on September 20, for instance, featured questioning of government representatives on the handling of the Kim Dae Jung case. The majority Democratic Republican Party had hoped to separate it from the regular agenda and, if possible, postpone discussion of it until the three-day ROK-Japan Cooperative Committee was concluded. From the opening day of the Assembly, though, the opposition parties successfully insisted on having Kim’s case put first on the agenda. Behind the scenes, a conference between leaders of the ruling and opposition parties was convened by Prime Minister Kim Jong Pil.

“We feel,” asserted the ruling party, “that the National Assembly must be fully informed of the attitudes of the Japanese press evident in its treatment of the Kim Dae Jung affair.” “Both Japanese public opinion and the Japanese Diet,” offered the opposition, “in their statements have already come very close to interfering in our internal affairs.” Chimed an opposition spokesman, “In many instances views expressed in the Japanese press have reflected the despicable mentality of our old colonial masters.” His deputy urged, “We must take the position of pressing, even harder than the government, for recognition of how Japanese statements are interfering in our internal affairs.” “Whatever should be verified at a national level, let us confirm it; and whatever the government should ascertain, let us insist on it,” was the

opposition line. It was more than enough to put at ease any government apprehensions about being vigorously interrogated by the opposition.

The spokesman for the group of presidential appointees¹¹ in the National Assembly had this to say:

Recent statements of certain Japanese politicians and reporters aim not merely at mounting a thorough investigation, nor do they stop at interference in our domestic affairs, but would, in my judgment, seek to overthrow the ROK government. We have taken a number of steps to look into the attitudes of these various spokesmen in Japan.

Not all Assemblymen, however, were so lacking in good sense. One of them gave vent to his displeasure at such a display of "patriotism" by asking, "What right have we to pass judgment on public opinion in another country where freedom of expression is guaranteed?"

As things stand right now, it is no easy task for members of parties that are "opposition" in name only to press their inquiries into the Kim Dae Jung case. Hence, even for Assemblymen always eager to put themselves forward, most are quite diffident about assuming responsibility for making interrogations. Chung Il Hyung, an elder of the New Democratic Party, tried to get such unpopular questions on the floor, but was forced to yield to another's inquiry into "diplomacy and national security." From this came Chung's celebrated surprise attack.

Some background explanation is needed before going into that attack; first let us pick up parts of a statement by Kim Yong Song, one of the presidential appointees in the National Assembly. This Kim was formerly editor of the opposition party organ *Democratic Front*. At that time (and I believe this is known in Japan) he caused a furor and got himself arrested by printing a famous epic poem, "Five Bandits," by the poet Kim Chi Ha. In the October Revitalization process he suddenly turned up—how, we do not know—as a presidential appointee to the National Assembly and an ardent

government supporter. Not that this sort of thing never happens, but many eyebrows were raised. This kind of person is the first to be used in an assault on his old comrades. Some fragments from his statement:

1. Kim Dae Jung went to Japan for medical treatment but, in violation of Japan's Immigration Control Laws, called for a North-South federation and for cessation of Japan's aid to the ROK. The Japanese government's silence on these activities against the ROK and its government indicates its tacit approval of them. Our government, as a sovereign power, should receive a formal apology from Japan, but has this been demanded?
2. The Japanese government has allowed the incident to happen in disregard of Kim Dae Jung's personal safety and has not even apprehended the offenders. Unwarranted complications have now arisen in Korea-Japan relations. Has our government registered protests against this?
3. Japan has demanded that the ROK allow Kim Dae Jung and Yang Il Dong to visit Japan to assist in its investigation of the incident. Since international law stipulates that such investigative powers reside with the country where the persons in question have their nationality, this is clearly an infringement upon our sovereign powers. Is there no plan to make a serious protest to Japan on this point?
4. The Japanese government has requested the first secretary of our Embassy in Tokyo to turn himself in voluntarily, on suspicion of involvement in the case because of verified fingerprints,¹² a request we regard as an intrusion upon our sovereignty. Has a protest been made in this connection?
5. The present problem must be solved so as to protect absolutely our national sovereignty; what is the government's plan for dealing with certain Japanese politicians and newsmen?
6. The most vocal critic of the Kim Dae Jung case in Japan is Liberal Democratic Party Dietman Utsunomiya Tokuma.

We remember him as the son of the Japanese army commander in Korea at the time of the March 1st (1919) Movement.¹³ He called for abolition of the ROK-Japan Normalization Treaty, cessation of Japanese aid to Korea, and boycott of the U.N. proposal for joint participation by North and South Korea. Greater self-restraint should be exercised by the son of the vicious commandant under whose criminal suppression of the March 1st Movement 46,948 persons were jailed and 7,509 were massacred. On the contrary, and perhaps because he suffers from some "complex" toward Korea, he now runs around as a mouth-piece for North Korea.

7. Historically, Japan has used its officials and power to carry out all sorts of imperialist acts in China, Manchuria, and Korea, as in the murder of Korea's Queen Min in 1895 and the holding of Prince Yong Chin as a hostage during the Japanese invasion of Korea. Given this past record, no Japanese has any right to publish inflammatory articles or reports about us, even if our own public agencies did have some role in the Kim case.
8. It is intolerable for one sector of Japan to clamor for an end to ROK-Japan economic cooperation. In this connection, does Prime Minister Kim Jong Pil have no plans for abandoning the overdependence on diplomatic ties with Japan and expanding them with Western nations?
9. Why is it that Japan says nothing against communist China and North Korea, yet makes so many complaints against South Korea?
10. Special Japanese correspondents sent to Korea are sending back completely distorted reports. Has the government taken any actions to deport all these correspondents?

The government replied to these questions with a pretense of perfunctory moderation. The ruling party referred to the Kim Dae Jung case by using the English initials of Kim's name—"K. T." for Kim Taejung (an alternate romanization)—a bit of bureaucratic

jargon understood by few and avoided by the newspapers.

The majority Democratic Republican Party spokesman was Min Byong Gi, formerly a professor at Korea University and once highly respected by the students, but now aligned with the government. A specialist in international law, and particularly knowledgeable about Korean-Japanese relations, he had once taken the lead in opposing the ROK-Japan Normalization Treaty (concluded in 1965). Alleging that it was only leftist politicians in Japan who make use of the Kim Dae Jung incident to criticize the Park regime, he denounced their attacks as a "new version" of the hotly debated "Korea expedition" a century earlier.¹⁴

The defense of present Korea-Japan relations, including the Kim Dae Jung tragedy, offered by this once distinguished scholar simply infuriated other intellectuals. When once-critical intellectuals move over to the government's side, they become the most irrational, reactionary, and ardent loyalists—a mysterious metabolism that only adds to public perplexity. To quote his own words:

Because control of the Kim Dae Jung case is so complicated that it defies treatment satisfactory to both Korea and Japan, certain Japanese politicians and press representatives are seizing this opportunity to exploit it for their own political purposes. They wish either to throw the Tanaka cabinet into confusion and move toward a leftist government, or to overthrow our government under President Park's leadership.

At the same time that such statements were made in the National Assembly, the newspapers developed a similar tone, exhorting the National Assembly, "If some Japanese have, mistakenly, an attitude of superiority toward us, you must then warn them, on the highest moral level, of their narrowness." This press posture was meant as a compliment to those Assemblymen "who have courage."

What effect can such patronizing statements be expected to have? Though an alibi has been established for First Secretary Kim Dong Woon, it was manufactured one way or other by the

government. How long will this government continue to put forth lies in the face of facts? Does it purposely court international disgrace? While the charade goes on in the National Assembly, is it not sending to Tokyo dozens of persons with contacts among Japanese intellectuals and the mass media, in order to placate public opinion there? People are seething with anger at this effort to smooth things over through means that are from beginning to end so sordid.

Sunwoo Hui could, therefore, do no other than request, so eloquently in his *Chosun Ilbo* editorial, that the culprits manifest their "patriotic motives" by identifying themselves. Because he knows the clumsy, dirty tricks of the government so well, he is concerned that the longer a proper settlement is put off or side-stepped, the deeper the case will sink into a quagmire. For publicly expressing such concern, he was subjected to KCIA interrogation and pressured to run in his newspaper a special contribution by the Japanese Hasegawa Saiji, titled "Reflections of a Reporter."

Sunwoo must have been utterly disgusted with the ROK government. In any case, he was ordered to run Hasegawa's article the following day, but to maintain the newspaper's dignity persuaded the KCIA to accept a delay of four or five days. Thus it was that Sunwoo's September 7 editorial was followed on September 13 by Hasegawa's special contribution. The "friendship" expressed by Hasegawa revived many painful memories in Korea. Indeed, his article carried not one shred of friendship for the tragic figure Kim Dae Jung, much less for the Korean people suffering harsh suppression. It was marked, rather, by a surplus of sympathy for the Park regime and the KCIA. His thinking appears no different from that of those who equate the Park regime and the KCIA with Korea and the Korean people. For example, he wrote: "While we were wondering if a Korean politician was really kidnapped from a Tokyo hotel, suddenly five days later he turns up in his own Seoul residence. Isn't this all it comes down to?" The Korean people have enough sense to see through this kind of "friendship." As one student asked me, "How can he say such

things? If he were an American, even the most ordinary citizen, he would not talk that way. If an outstanding leader of the opposition party in his own country were to meet a similar fate overseas somewhere, could he shrug and say, 'Isn't that all it comes down to?' What kind of idiot is he anyway?"

These days the Koreans see the Japanese coming to take over the postwar role of the Americans, and it is important to understand that they have a strong tendency to compare the two groups of outsiders. Certainly the Americans did not descend in great waves from chartered jets to cause the kinds of problems the Japanese do. With the Americans it was never so boisterous. Though Americans gave aid to further their own interests, somehow it had a liberal image of aid without strings attached. Too, the generous love shown individually to many orphans conveyed a sense of genuine humanity. Even now it is thought better, normal complaints notwithstanding, to work for an American firm than for a Japanese one; the working conditions and management are far superior, it is said with some pride. Ideologically some anti-American arguments may be acceptable, but the Korean people in general find it hard to hate the Americans personally. The Japanese should take these sentiments to heart.

Getting back to the problem of the government-directed protests against Japan made by the ruling party, they were coolly received by the opposition New Democratic Party, despite the NDP's weak position and rumors that many of its members have been bought off by the government. Majority party hopes of winning the NDP representatives' support failed to materialize. Despite the NDP's reserved tones, its representatives' questions in the National Assembly on Kim Dae Jung naturally won public support. Thus, word is going around since the Kim Dae Jung incident that the party has regained some of its vitality. This is why many people are whispering, "Such as it is, we need an opposition party like that." A summary of the statement made in the Assembly by the NDP's Kim Young Sam follows.

1. The abduction of Kim Dae Jung required a large-sized

boat and considerable funds—far beyond the means of any individual or private organization. What is the prime minister's opinion?

2. To date no terrorist has ever been apprehended; but to eradicate the nationalistic slurs which fill the Japanese press and public opinion, the guilty persons must be caught and severely punished. Otherwise, it will be difficult to salvage our national honor.
3. Give us your promise as to when, by what date, the criminals will be caught! If they cannot be brought in, then your cabinet must bear responsibility for this failure.
4. By verified fingerprints and other evidence, the Japanese police have concluded that Kim Dong Woon, first secretary of our Embassy in Tokyo, along with his accomplices, was criminally involved. What steps have been taken to have Kim Dong Woon surrender himself and thus dispel the misgivings felt here and abroad? What, and since when, has he been doing in the Korean Embassy in Tokyo anyway?
5. Kim Dae Jung entered Korean territory and came all the way into Seoul without being officially checked at any point. To maintain a national posture of total security, the government tells us, we are always in a state of complete defensive readiness; for such a stupid lapse of protective security, who will be held responsible?
6. At present Kim Dae Jung is detained under house arrest, but it is not clear whether he is a "suspect" or "victim." Is it not an example of the worst sort of kowtowing to the powerful, to allow an interview with him by Japan's Ambassador to Korea Ushiroku Torao, but not by a representative of our own New Democratic Party?
7. Is there no intention to permit Kim Dae Jung freedom of movement, including freedom to engage in political activities?

If Japan regards the abduction as interference in its sovereignty

and presses Korea to assume responsibility, he asks further, then what does the ROK government intend to do? He concluded with a cutting criticism: in Korea we have "only control, not government." The ruling party demanded that these words be stricken from the record, and at first Kim Young Sam was inclined to yield to this demand. In the end, however, he decided that it was intolerable to omit these words from the record and stood his ground.

Newspapers highlighted "the contrast between the majority party's vigorous censure of Japan and the opposition's obvious failure to make an issue of it." But real opposition came finally to a climax with the "surprise attack" of the elderly Chung Il Hyung, mentioned earlier. At one time a minister of foreign affairs under former Prime Minister Chang Myon following the 1960 student revolt, Assemblyman Chung is a highly respected politician with an unblemished record. As a presidential candidate he would be inferior to none. It is said that he was quite reluctant to run for a seat in the National Assembly in the last election, though something seems to have persuaded him to do so. Certainly his friends would have felt a great loss had he not at least stood for the National Assembly. In staging its critical attack against Japan, the government had hopes of marshaling opposition support, but Chung's own blistering critique of the government dashed those hopes to the ground. Indeed, the October student demonstrations have clearly shown that any proper criticism of Japan is at the same time criticism of the Park regime. Once the government grasped the fact that its assault on Japan meant digging its own grave, it decided to ring down the curtain on the scenario for denunciation of Japan.

As soon as Chung mounted the platform, he spit out these caustic words: "I was warned, even threatened, not to pose direct or indirect questions, but I can no longer remain silent while the country faces so serious a crisis, and therefore have urged my seventy-year-old frame to the platform." Beginning by shouting at Prime Minister Kim Jong Pil, "*Yobo!*" ("Now, see here!"), he then cleared the air with "I have no need of false answers, so don't

worry about how to reply; just listen carefully to what I have to say.” His voice was filled with wrath and scorn, not to mention grief, as he recounted his complaints: the absurdity of thinking only of how to stay in power; irresponsible statements that turn the whole country into a cesspool of lies; the stupidity of the Park regime, which has already forfeited true authority within the nation and now displays its deceptions internationally; and the basic question of how to prevent Korea and its people from being pulled down irretrievably into degradation along with the Park regime. These were the fears and laments, he confessed, that filled his heart.

The ruling party members sprang to their feet, shouting, “Turn off the mike!” Recessed for ten minutes, the Assembly reconvened only to turn into a madhouse. While the majority party clamored for an apology from Chung, he was forced to leave the Assembly chamber. On the speaker’s orders, Chung’s statement was stricken from the stenographer’s notes. Pressing its counterattack, the ruling party voted to censure him:

Assemblyman Chung claims that he knows who the abductors are, that the Korean people also know, and even that persons abroad know. Then let him present a list of them to this Assembly.

Chung refused to make an apology, as the speaker proposed for the restoration of order in the Assembly, and announced his readiness, rather, to accept censure. To this last challenge the ruling party did not rise; it had too much to fear from delving further into the very things connected with the Kim Dae Jung affair that had already made the situation so bad.

A well-known saying handed down from the past in Korea speaks of “the bandit’s beating”—it refers to a bandit, caught in the act of theft, who takes up a stick and beats the head of the house before he himself gets beaten. The opposition parties have often used this phrase to characterize the ruling party’s actions. Following a completely unfair election, for example, the ruling party had the gall to plant headline stories accusing the opposition

of malpractices and, bandit-like, bought up all advertising space so that the opposition could run no protests. The ruling party's basic tactic is simple: repeat a lie one hundred times, and the people will believe it.

Now the opposition charge is that the majority party has exported its bag of tricks, so familiar at home, to its relations with Japan as well. When negative Japanese public opinion first erupted, the Park government bowed low and apologized; but as soon as things quieted down, the criminal pounced upon his victim. But did this tactic succeed? By now most people feel the Park regime has passed the point where it could have regained respect and support. They wonder, rather, how long this band of bandits can hold out. . . .

Only guerrilla tactics remain

(Oct. 18)

I frequently hear people say they would like a chance to see *Sekai* magazine,¹⁵ especially the current October (1973) issue, which they have heard is a special issue on Kim Dae Jung. Maybe they hope to find there some relief from, or a catharsis for, their own troubles. More than anything else, they would like to know what is happening outside of Korea. Sometimes our isolation makes it difficult for me to write; yet many people are happy to know that something of the present situation in Korea is being told abroad. Overcome with their own helplessness, they project their hopes outside the country. The powerless cannot, after all, overthrow the powerful.

If a fight is to be waged against the present repressive government, it can only be done by guerrilla [used here exclusively in a nonviolent sense] means—how else can the weak stand up to overwhelming strength? Editor Sunwoo is a case in point. On the day before he penned his editorial on “What we really want from the government,” he went to his office carrying a blanket. Asked the reason for it by his colleagues, he only laughed and said, “Oh, I will be working late on a short story that I must finish.” The

"story," of course, was his guerrilla-type editorial effort.

Rev. Park Hyung Kyu's alleged distribution of leaflets on that early Easter morn is another example of simple guerrilla tactics. His supporters also practice this art. On the day of his trial they gathered in a nearby church for a prayer meeting. From there they proceeded to the court to sit in on his hearing. The court, in order to evade such sit-ins, often shifts hearings to earlier or later hours. Even so, more than five hundred of Pastor Park's supporters managed to pack the courtroom at the time of his prosecutorial hearing. The prosecutor's demand for a five-year sentence brought many of them to tears. Younger pastors and professors, older cultural leaders, even foreigners, all gathered from across the country to participate in this act of passive resistance.

The KCIA is also very active on such occasions. For instance, it ordered the prayer meeting to disband. Worse, it forbade any defense against the criminal charges contained in the prosecutor's indictment, demanding instead a written confession to the charges as made—for which the KCIA appears to have promised a lighter sentence.

The whole trial was couched in irresponsibility. The night before the indictment was handed up, the KCIA sought out Park's supporters to inform them of the prosecutor's plan to demand a five-year sentence; but if they would behave themselves, the KCIA would try to arrange a better deal. In fact, on the day set for sentencing everything was carried out swiftly and secretly. At the time set for the court to hand down its judgment, the courtroom door was locked tight. Later we learned that sentencing him to two years in prison took only three minutes—in secret, behind closed doors. The defense attorney has since gone into hiding.

The gathered supporters wailed and kicked at the courtroom door. Park's eighty-year-old mother, a courageous woman who at an earlier hearing had called out an encouraging "Stand up for the truth!" to her son in the courtroom, was held back this time by a court guard, outside the locked door. And this time she broke down in anguished tears, fearful that her son might be executed

behind closed doors.

To everyone's surprise, Park Hyung Kyu was released two days later. Korean church circles attributed this to pressures brought to bear by churches in Korea and overseas. Knowing their own weakness, they realized that the stronger role was played by the churches in other parts of the world. In the case of Kim Dae Jung as well, it was primarily strong international pressures that persuaded the ROK government to exercise restraint, lest its image become further tarnished. Thus, the realization penetrating deeply into the public consciousness is that a concentration of pressures from the outside offers the only real hope for forcing a fair settlement of the Kim Dae Jung case or for breaking out of the stifling political straitjacket in Korea.

Accordingly, university students are increasingly pessimistic about the effectiveness of their own movements. That the first demonstration at Seoul National University's College of Liberal Arts and Sciences used guerrilla-like measures is clear from one story I was told by some KCIA investigators who ferreted it out.

For one reason or other the day of decisive action kept being postponed. Then a guerrilla tactic was chosen. After placing a number of government officials' sons around the campus as monitors, about thirty student leaders ran about shouting "Fire! Fire!" and pointing to the university's library building. At that signal, the rest of the students came rushing out, and the "monitors" lined them up in formation. The sons of highly placed government officials were not likely to be arrested, and with them at the head of the lines, the demonstration would not likely be branded as antinationalistic. (In the April 19, 1960 demonstrations that toppled Syngman Rhee, sons of high officials were similarly used to head demonstration marches.) This way, the demonstrators could march and openly read their prepared statements. Without such maneuvers, no plans can be laid without detection by the KCIA agents swarming on the campuses, and the students have little chance of making their opinions known. All criticism and resistance must now employ some such guerrilla-style methods.

Assemblyman Chung Il Hyung used his chance to speak on "diplomacy and national security" to level his scathing attack on the handling of the Kim Dae Jung affair. (Since the October 1972 Revitalization summaries of questions to be raised in the National Assembly must be submitted in advance to the speaker of the Assembly for approval; Chung's actual statements on this occasion differed from his submitted summary, touching off a controversy over illegal procedures.) Anticipating that he might be prevented from completing his statement, Chung had copies printed beforehand, to assure distribution of his stream of angry invectives against the government. It is reported that as he left his home that morning he handed a copy to his wife, saying, "This could be my own suicide note." These words were like those of a soldier committing himself to guerrilla warfare.

Students at Seoul National University have thrown themselves into the struggle with the same daring spirit. In statements emanating from the university's three colleges are found phrases like "no longer able to sit silently and watch," "as each one's conscience dictates," and "rising up in indignation." The cowardice of remaining an idle spectator in the face of national disgrace and degradation has become an unbearable burden, to be cast off only by rising up in total disregard for one's personal welfare. To participate in such resistance also requires strong resistance to the natural tendency to seek personal safety and comfort.

The KCIA investigators' account of the students' tactics also included this comment: "Among the rascals who have come forth this time we cannot detect the leaders. When we pick up the most conspicuous ones, they always have good alibis. On the day in question they were all out climbing Mt. Sorak. It is really strange. . . ." In the opinion of the KCIA agents, the leaders are further back in the rear.

The guerrilla tactics of students are causing an impact in many quarters. Underground newspapers are distributed, and wall posters are plastered in all kinds of places. Such activities are particularly vigorous at Korea University. Even after one of the

researchers at its Labor Relations Institute was charged with being a "North Korean spy" for engaging in these activities, they continue strong. It is accepted as common knowledge that the researcher, Kim Nak Jung, was the victim of a frame-up designed to disrupt the South-North talks.

In shaky social conditions like these, it seems certain that some opposition leaders are trying to strengthen their party positions in the National Assembly by cultivating similar guerrilla skills. During opposition interrogations on the Kim Dae Jung case, the ruling party skillfully blocked the strategy, until Chung Il Hyung's surprise attack completely demolished them. Recently orders have been issued banning street sales of an opposition party's newsheet if it carries pictures of the students' demonstrations or prints their statements. The party head compliantly sought to stop sales, but the newsheet's staff dared to go ahead. Meanwhile, daily clashes occur at budget hearings in the National Assembly. In the Committee on Home Affairs, an opposition delegate made an intervention to the head of the Home Ministry, protesting the arrests of students. Ruling party delegates shouted back at the tops of their voices, "Limit your questions to budgetary matters!" Unable to ignore the threatening atmosphere, the chairman was forced to adjourn the meeting. At preliminary hearings on the budget, the opposition renewed its attack: "Administration of the deficit budget in fiscal 1972 brought the nation to the brink of bankruptcy; for this the finance minister must assume responsibility." Once again uproar led to adjournment. An early end to this struggle is not expected.

KCIA measures against students, however, are expected to get much tougher. Since the Kim Dae Jung affair the government has considerably relaxed its pressures on the opposition parties, the newspapers and the Christian churches. It seems to think that these institutions can best be handled by more lenient methods that do not provoke them into action. But the students will encounter increasingly severe treatment.

A subtle signal that something serious is brewing came early in

October at an athletic contest between Korea University and Yonsei University. The riot police's method for communicating this warning was gruesome. In the stands where the Yonsei girls were seated a fire of unknown origin erupted. About thirty of the girls suffered burns. According to reports, the fire erupted not from below but from above. Reportedly this was done to subdue the students' feelings, which have been approaching the point of exploding. As a matter of fact, two such undetermined fires erupted previously in the cheering section at Korea University rugby matches.

As the students put it on their placards, the Park regime is "almighty," not "revitalizing" [a play on the word *yushin* 維新 for "revitalization," pronounced just like another combination of Chinese characters 唯神 that means "one and only god"]. And to maintain its power, the people are enslaved. Popular sympathy for this sort of derision is greater than at any time during the Park government's thirteen-year rule.

The government has been extremely harsh in arresting students connected with the recent demonstration. Students or citizens who shelter students-in-hiding are all arrested, compelling student demonstrators to turn themselves in. Demonstrators' fathers or brothers, even relatives, who are in the army or hold government jobs are brought into and forced to cooperate with interrogations of the arrested students. Or, if the accused students cannot be found, these kin are threatened with expulsion from government employ.

How long will this sort of thing go on? Articles in foreign newspapers are duplicated and widely distributed; arrests for such actions do not, however, diminish them. Copies of one newspaper were confiscated, it is reported, for running a particularly courageous article. Another newspaper displayed considerable resourcefulness by pretending to expose the impropriety of the [Japanese] *Yomiuri* newspaper's article for which the *Yomiuri* correspondent in Seoul was deported, and in doing so, printed virtually all of the "bad" article. One friend told me of a newsman who was arrested

and died as a result of torture. Such deaths are often attributed to cancer, he says. Others wind up mentally disturbed. My informant then observed: "I have always heard that torture is used to draw out the facts of a crime. The KCIA uses it to punish, or eliminate, those who do not comply with its wishes."

No one really believes that control can be maintained indefinitely by such methods. For one thing, it is generally agreed that we are nearing economic bankruptcy. The freeze on business relations with Japan is experienced as a real psychological burden in many ways. People whisper back and forth that we may well be on the eve of a crash. From the Kim Dae Jung incident on, popular defiance has spread rapidly—what does the government intend to do about it? One student active in resistance work shared his anxiety that if the present comparatively mild underground movement goes on too long, it might escalate into terrorism. And if the Kim Dae Jung case should come to an unhappy ending, then the terrorism might be turned upon Japanese living in Korea. I cannot overcome the feeling that the Kim Dae Jung problem is a time bomb held jointly in Japanese and Korean hands.

Among intellectuals one frequently hears comments to the effect that "the people are just waiting for something to trigger an explosion. But you know what kind of man Park Chung Hee is. At the crucial moment he can shift position so skillfully. He will probably figure out some way to survive." If such a time comes, he might even join hands with Kim Dae Jung. Koreans old enough to recall the chaos that followed the April 19 (1960) uprising sometimes wonder if it would not actually be better to bury the hatchet and pass smoothly on to a new day. They return quickly to their troubled senses, however, if reminded that "the corrupt and violent plunderers who have committed countless crimes would thereby remain right where they now are. The conscience of the people would not permit it. No, the people absolutely would not remain silent."

Kim Dae Jung himself, I should think, would never agree to it. Will Park Chung Hee then go as far as he can? If so, endless sacri-

lices must continue to be made. Perhaps the Koreans are hoping some miracle will break into this vale of anxiety. Throughout their long history the Korean people have harbored within their breasts the same unspoken words, so delicate and so pitiful, that today are constantly repeated in their hearts: "My Lord, this is not right."

NOVEMBER 1973

Gas chamber rumors

(Nov. 9)

Rumors of a certain modern-day atrocity keep cropping up all over Seoul, and of course they involve the KCIA. It all began with the discovery at KCIA headquarters of the corpse of Choi Jong Gil, a professor at Seoul National University's Law School. The KCIA claims he committed suicide by throwing himself from a toilet room window, but no one believes that. They believe he died as a result of torture.

The true facts of the incident are as follows. Following a series of student demonstrations during October and closure of the Law School, six professors responsible for administration of the school met for a conference. At this meeting Professor Choi urged that this time the faculty support the students' position and therefore not penalize them. Someone seems to have informed on him, for that very day he was arrested and subjected to torture. The KCIA disposed of his body without permitting his family to see it—Professor Choi's wife is a physician and would have easily recognized the severity of the torture inflicted upon him.

Similar reports derived from the 1969 general referendum on revision of the Constitution. At that time a student organizer of demonstrations at Yonsei University was arrested and interrogated at one of the KCIA's branch offices in Seoul, housed in a building with a bogus company sign out front. Official reports claimed the student committed suicide by throwing himself from the building, and (not acknowledging the KCIA's use of the building) professed bewilderment as to why it happened at this particular place. His family was not, of course, permitted to ascertain the facts of his

death.

About a week after Professor Choi's arrest students at the SNU Law School, sensing something strange, began agitating for an explanation. Finally, with blazing headlines announcing "EXPOSURE OF HUGE SPY NETWORK BASED IN EUROPE," the professor's death was reported. Security officers appear quite nervous that the incident might trigger a massive popular reaction as did the death of young Kim Ju Yol in the April 19 (1960) uprising. (During the protest movement against the unfair election of former President Syngman Rhee in 1960, Kim Ju Yol, a youth of Masan, was murdered by the police and his body was thrown into the sea; when his corpse was discovered, the people became furious, and the student revolt that toppled Rhee soon followed.) Students are saying this kind of massive repercussion may recur. At Seoul National University, which is presently on strike, the girl students are wearing black to mourn Choi's death.

Stories of KCIA atrocities constitute a rich storehouse for complaints against the Park government. A friend recently related to me three terrible accounts. One concerns a gas chamber where vapors rise and hang in the air like smoke curling from a cigarette; those who enter soon lapse into semi-consciousness. Another involves showing films of hideous torture administered to others. In either case, the only way out is to yield and praise the Park regime. The third measure is to take victims to the truce line separating South and North Korea and simply kill them—reporting that they were shot by the army because they planned to cross over to the North. That stories like these spread so easily only shows how acutely sensitive the people are to the present reign of terror.

Nowadays no one dares inquire openly into reported spy incidents, though such reports continue without limit. Cases reportedly involving Korean residents in Japan are particularly numerous. Their families and friends do all they can in their defense, but the sentences handed down for their crimes are usually decided beforehand on political grounds.

The following story was relayed to me by a friend who heard it from someone directly involved in such measures. "The spy reports are manufactured to demonstrate here and abroad that the North is not sincere about the South-North talks or unification. Koreans living in Japan are easily implicated in these political tricks because in Japan they actually have occasion to associate with pro-North Koreans." It is most convenient to make use of Koreans in Japan for conjuring up spy stories; using persons in Korea is risky because their acquaintances can readily detect a clumsy fabrication, and that can stir up considerable reaction. People in Korea tend to think that, well, maybe some of the Koreans in Japan are involved in such schemes, and this makes it most difficult to discount such political plots.

Cry out, and cry out again

(Nov. 9)

Frequently when students gather to vote on a strike the university administration gets wind of it and orders the campus closed down anyway, in a childish effort to save face by making it look like the school was closed because the students submitted to university directives and pressures, not because the students forced it to close. Letters are then sent to the students' fathers and older brothers, asking them to take responsibility for seeing that the students attend classes. Then follows an endless stream of student proclamations and distributed handbills. I should like to quote from a handbill circulated in mid-October on the Yonsei, Sogang, and Ewha campuses.

A MESSAGE TO DEMOCRATIC STUDENTS

We come to this year never forgetting those days and times when we drank the full cup of bitter disappointment. Are we, then, ready for this day when the lackeys of a dictator drunk with lust for power trample freedom and justice underfoot? Our minds awakened from drowsy slumber, we have kicked back our chairs to raise high the torch of struggle. The flames

of struggle are sweeping the plains to make way for a new world. The oppression inflicted upon us is being transmuted into a mighty call for a new society, and the exploitation suffered is becoming the driving force for building that new society.

The problems we confront are beyond imagination: the plot to murder Kim Dae Jung; the prior censorship of press and publisher that stifles the people; denial of the freedom of assembly and association; imprisonment of democratic students and citizens; inhuman acts by operatives (KCIA, police, etc.) that enrage both heaven and earth; reduction of the National Assembly and the courts to mere formalities; ruin of the economy and merciless exploitation of the masses by foreign capital and bureaucratic compradors; the enslavement of farming and fishing villages by capital under foreign and bureaucratic controls, in the name of the New Village Movement; the wage freeze and barbaric oppression inflicted upon laborers; not to mention taxes and old-age pensions (actually a program of enforced savings pushed through despite the people's resistance) which add to this long list of unimaginably antidemocratic acts perpetrated by a military dictatorship that renders our economy subordinate to Japan.

Who will proclaim the cruel realities of our fatherland? Who can cry out, this is the way for us to go forward? Fellow students! The blood in our young veins is still warm! Nay, did we not vow together that to the end it will never run cold?

Our comrades have dashed forward to join hands with the broad ranks of the working masses. The little band of the dictator's troops are even now making their last pitiful stand for survival. Our conscientious people's uprising propels us forward toward a new democratic society. As university students who dare to look squarely at the realities of our homeland, we must completely eradicate the antidemocratic, antinationalistic character of the present government. Where are we going? To a new democratic society, straight ahead to

build a new society based on the sovereignty of the people! Do we not know that it is above all the people's sovereignty that is the foundation of a new democratic society? A struggle like ours is the first step toward a new world, the first flourish in a new chapter of history!

Behold, our fellow students are flinging their last arrows at the evil dictator's forces encircling them.

Fellow students, arise! On to the final victory!

1. Let all the people rise up.
2. Disband the Central Intelligence Agency.
3. Build a new democratic government.
4. Restore the true functions of the press and the opposition parties.

THE TRUTH ABOUT THE PLOT TO KILL KIM DAE JUNG

1. Details of the abduction

Under directions of the Blue House security chief Park Jong Kyu, KCIA Section 7 chief, First Secretary (Korean Embassy in Japan) Kim Dong Woon, and the Korean consul-generals in Osaka and Kobe, Kim Dae Jung was kidnapped→U.S. Ambassador to Korea Habib made two calls to the Blue House (to demand that Kim Dae Jung's life be spared; rebuffed by the Blue House)→U.S. Air Force planes based near Osaka stopped the boat carrying Kim Dae Jung from Japan (Prime Minister Tanaka of Japan notified American authorities that assassination of Kim Dae Jung would throw his Liberal Democratic Party into a crisis)→relations among Korea, America and Japan became very tense→the American government received a guarantee that Kim's life would be spared, so agreed to release him to Korea→Kim Dae Jung arrived at Ulsan Bay and traveled by way of Taejon to Seoul.

2. Kim Dae Jung's overseas activities

In America and Japan he cooperated with Korean scholars and friends living abroad to develop a political struggle against the present government.

3. American and Japanese attitudes

- a. U.S. Ambassador to Korea Habib gave secret testimony before the U.S. Senate Committee on Foreign Affairs to this effect:

—Were there no opposition struggle against the present government in Korea, the U.S. would have no alternative but to support the latter.

—Should the Tanaka government in Japan be thrown into jeopardy because of the Kim Dae Jung affair, the U.S. must give priority to the Tanaka government over the Park government.

- b. Japan demands that Korea permit Kim Dae Jung to travel again to Japan. With this the Japanese government hopes to convince the Japanese people that it had nothing to do directly with the kidnapping of Kim Dae Jung and thus avoid a crisis over this incident.

4. South-North talks and the U.N. General Assembly

Though already used by the present government as a means for prolonging its power, the South-North talks are further jeopardized by the Kim Dae Jung affair. It also puts South Korea in an increasingly isolated position as regards the United Nations.

Here we see how eagerly the students seek information from outside Korea. According to one rumor, the original plan was to spirit Kim Dae Jung out of Japan on a Korean Air Force plane, but this was foiled by a pursuing U.S. Air Force plane. Hence the change to a boat, which was also stopped, and apparently some tough bargaining ensued. This sort of hyperactivity of the people's imagination is due precisely to the fact that the press is so inordinately restricted in reporting actual facts.

The students are very attentive to how their strikes and demonstrations will be reported in the newspapers, though press response generally is mere silence. Hence, among students these days the sardonic word is: "There are no Korean newspapers in Korea; the Japanese newspapers are our newspapers," a comment that

arose from the Kim Dae Jung incident. Related to this is the feeling that the student voices, not reported in the Korean press, are carried in the Japanese press. Maybe it is because those in power are aware of this irony, or of the scorn with which foreign media regard the silence of the Korean press, but lately we have been surprised to find short reports, even only a few lines, on student activities in our Korean newspapers. For instance, the October 7 papers ran a short piece on Seoul National University student activity, along with mention of action at other universities.

On October 7 students at Seoul National University's colleges of Engineering and Commerce boycotted classes to press for the release of imprisoned students, an end to Japanese economic dominance, and guarantees of academic and press freedom. Prior to this, on October 5, the students of Seoul National's College of Education voted to engage in an unlimited boycott of classes.

Only the milder points advocated by the students are selected for news reports; direct attacks on dictatorship and demands for dissolution of the KCIA as well as thorough investigation of the Kim Dae Jung case are omitted. But even partial coverage by the press is viewed by the students as definite progress.

Frequently students are arrested and put into jail even before they can take any action. Experiences of this kind of treatment were particularly pathetic on October 2 at Seoul National's College of Liberal Arts and Sciences.¹⁶ But indications are that present student plans are oriented to long-term guerrilla-style activities that are designed not for rapidly escalated confrontation, and thus great sacrifices, but for gradual weakening of the government's power throughout the whole of society. The morale of the agents assigned to deal with the students is thought to be at a low ebb—perhaps even the villainous police and KCIA operatives are growing anxious that excessive loyalty to a doomed government will make it difficult to save their own skins.

The "Emergency Statement" demanding restoration of democ-

racy, signed by fifteen distinguished intellectuals and religious leaders¹⁷ on November 5, has certainly given a great boost to many people. This too may be considered a kind of guerrilla tactic. These leaders gathered in the first floor cafeteria of the YMCA in Chongno (downtown Seoul), where the KCIA showed up within ten minutes and sent away all newsmen except foreign correspondents. Anticipating arrest anyway, the participants decided to go out with a hearty “three cheers” and officially closed their “ten-minute gathering.” It is said that of those who were taken to the KCIA’s sixth section, three of them, Ham Suk Hon, Rev. Kim Chai Chun, and Chun Kwan Wu,¹⁸ instead of undergoing interrogations, engaged in denunciations of the illegalities of the Park regime. Only when they asked what happened to Professor Choi Jong Gil of Seoul National University was the painful explanation given: they were taken to see the toilet where the KCIA said he had flung himself out of the window and died.

On the following day I was able to meet one of the above-named leaders. According to him, “No one could be arrested, for fear the event would then swell to unmanageable proportions. But, precisely because no arrests were made, an even larger and bolder movement might arise.” This is the dilemma faced, he feels, by the Park government. In a voice filled with anger, he spewed out these words: “Up to now we have felt that, well, he is the president of our country, and so have tried to put up with him—but what kind of man is Park Chung Hee? The press, Christianity, and the students and intellectuals are the highest symbols of patriotism in this country. When they were all suffering under Japanese colonial rule, where was he? What was he doing in Manchuria? Or, where was he when we were carrying forward the fight for democracy under Syngman Rhee? He mouths platitudes about standing up against communism, but that is what newsmen, students, and Christians actually did. Is it not true that he joined a communist organization, but, when it became personally dangerous for him, betrayed many of his comrades? He is too humanly corrupt for words. And he is destroying the very groups that represent true

patriotism. . . .”

It was almost more than I could bear. “We are our own masters, able to represent our own country,” he said. And I told myself that the anger of the people will continue to cry out, and cry out again and again; it cannot be suppressed.

Daily hardships

(Nov. 30)

The oil crisis is really serious. I can hardly endure my cold room. Even coal briquettes are hard to come by. Housewives have demonstrated to protest these conditions. Buses and trains have been cancelled, and some small enterprises not connected with the export trade have closed down. Meantime, the government has issued orders to prevent newspapers from printing anything about the oil crisis, or anything that might stimulate price rises. It would not be at all surprising if something serious develops by spring, not from student protests, but from these daily hardships. In that case the government would probably impose even more serious restraints. Or, as we hear it whispered about, if current discontent should merge with the mainstream of student protests, it could easily spell the end of the Park regime.

The students claim in their pronouncements that Korea is both domestically and internationally on the brink of its greatest crisis, and in this they echo the common mood of the public. The government senses that mood and rightly fears that the students may mount a strong attack on present economic and inflationary problems. The foreign capital deficit, we are told, is now US\$5.5 billion (2,640 billion won). This makes it easy for foreign enterprises to take a free hand in our economy. Conditions of female workers in foreign companies (most of which are Japanese) in the free export zone of Masan are currently reported in the newspapers. Paid on a daily basis, their wages run less than 15,000 won per month (less than \$35).

The girls describe their own situation this way: “For the first three months we receive only 200 won per day, and after that

250 won daily. Working everyday, including overtime to 10:00 P.M., we get barely 10,000 won in take-home pay (approximately \$21)." Or, "Even with certain privileges, like duty-free purchases in the free export zone, it is galling to know that the same companies pay workers in their own country the equivalent of 40,000 to 50,000 won monthly."

These conditions exist, of course, with the connivance and support of the Korean government. And what use is made of the foreign capital earned here? Is it true, as we hear, that some persons have deposited enormous sums in American and Swiss banks? And what about the Western-style luxury apartments which sell as fast as they can be built? One newspaper editorial recently broke the taboo on criticism of economic policy. It was an outcry that could not be withheld.

Who promoted so much consumption of oil, all of which must be imported? Who is pushing use of so much electricity for heating, refrigeration and television, as if electric power is plentiful, when it all comes from power plants built with foreign investments and run on oil supplied by firms based on foreign capital?

Despite limited land and low income levels, who ordered an increase of four new automobile assembly plants? Who authorized the production of new models every year? . . . Who set off the land speculation boom in the Yongdongpo section of Seoul? Who jacked up land prices under the labels of "tourism" and "leisure industry"?

How can the government keep calling for public cooperation with its economic policy when it is unwilling to take "responsibility for its own failures"? This economy—based on collusion with large corporations and foreign investors, and managed only for personal gain or to maintain the political structures that make profits possible—appears on the verge of total bankruptcy. Even so, the Park government brings over a highly publicized "optimistic futurologist" like Hermann Kahn to talk about "understanding

the Korean economic miracle in light of the character of the Korean people, an efficient managerial system, a stabilized economic environment and historical situation.” In mid-November scores of scholars were mobilized to attend his seminar, and hundreds of citizens his public lectures. According to news reports, Park Chung Hee himself entertained Kahn in the Blue House to listen for over an hour to his eloquent explanations. One student poured out to me his disgust with this pompous display.

Our professors are worthless. While we wage our desperate struggle, they sit silently and even enjoy the lies of this hired apologist. In a situation that does not bear even the remotest resemblance to the rosy dream he talks about, what on earth is this “miracle of the Korean economy”? In the face of miserable economic conditions, what in heaven’s name can be called “an efficient managerial system” or a “stabilized economic environment and historical situation”? Who is he to pronounce our wretched economic realities “stabilized” or our historical situation “excellent”? To top it all, he insists that the only problem is the discontent of intellectuals. What do you think of our professors, who sat there listening with serious looks on their faces, but turn a deaf ear to our outcries? This is the greatest tragedy of all.

I could only think of the stark contrast between a defiled intellect and a purified conscience. At that very moment student protesters in cold prison cells were being tortured, and KCIA agents were harassing the mothers, sisters, friends and roommates of students-in-hiding whom the agents have not been able to catch. Since news of the coup in Thailand reached us, the level of brutality has risen. Yet this rosy seminar was staged as an official government function at, and in the name of, Korea University—the stormy battlefield of the student struggle. It is said that the participants received compensation from the government. If so, the students must be unable to choke back their outbursts of resentment.

In these circumstances, where students rise up so vigorously, we often hear the question, what about the workers? Their situation is quite as miserable as the comments of the girl workers imply; but the labor unions have long since been converted into instruments of government control.

The only thing that has aroused this paralyzed society is the students' struggle. It has built a fire under the newspapers, and now, nervously watching every step they take, they are beginning to print relevant news. The *Chung-Ang Ilbo* daily and its radio station, particularly, are gradually regaining vitality as a result of the half-day strike on November 30 by 170 of the daily's workers to demand freedom of the press.

DECEMBER 1973

Assessing the Cabinet shuffle

(Dec. 10)

December 5 brought a startling announcement of sharp rises in the prices of several items, including petroleum products. As usual, it came with no warning, after the government had assured us prices would be stabilized. A huge budget and high taxes will, of course, be continued. While we wondered what kind of price controls the government had in mind, the answer came bluntly in the figures released on rates of increase: petroleum products, 30%; mixed livestock feeds, 25.5%; starch, 42%; nylon thread, 32.6%; plate glass, 25.5%; milk, 15%; powdered milk, 10.8%; sugar, 16.7%; and fertilizers, 30%.

The people now feel an economic crisis is coming on top of the political crisis. The government, it is reported, is doing all it can to prepare for the coming Japan-Korea Ministerial Conference, but Japan is not expected to come across with the needed loans so easily. No one even tries to deny that Japan, as the students charge, is becoming deeply involved in Korean politics through its financial aid and investments. Is not the Kim Dae Jung affair a forthright example of this? In fact, resistance to the idea of Kim Dae Jung traveling abroad comes, according to one interpretation, from the Japanese government and some of its leading political figures. They are particularly anxious about Kim's criticism of Japanese economic domination of Korea. Some elements in Japan also fear exposure of the devices by which Kim's abduction was carried out. Not long ago we had occasion to discuss Kim Dae Jung's fate with a number of friends from many walks of life, and came up with the following inescapable conclusions:

1. Japan, of course, but America as well, prefers the continuation of the present government in South Korea. However, America very likely wants to maintain some kind of check on the Park regime.
2. Both Japan and America intimate that should Park fall, then Prime Minister Kim Jong Pil, or if he is rejected, then someone more pliant, more easily manipulated than Kim Dae Jung must be supported as a successor. It would appear that this position is being forcefully urged upon America by Japan.
3. The above measures would not, however, be adequate to stabilize current conditions in Korea. It is necessary to have a person at the head of government who can command the enthusiastic support of the people in order to undertake a new program of nation-building. No one mentions Kim Dae Jung, but he is unexcelled in potentiality to fulfill this role. Certainly if he came to power his administration would be more realistic.

One of the group discussing the issues recalled the secret 1905 Taft-Katsura Memorandum¹⁹ and expressed fears that Japan and America might again decide to “settle” Korea’s problems. The American ambassador to Korea seems to take the position that until the Korean government permits it, nothing can be done about permission for Kim Dae Jung to travel abroad. His position, therefore, is that a scholarship is ready and waiting in America, and America has done all it can and should do. Japan, for its part, joins with the Korean government in holding that Kim Dae Jung’s freedom is now being restored,²⁰ and if only the regular South Korea-Japan Ministerial Conference is held, all things will return to normal.

On that evening one of the discussants ventured a speculation on which we would very much like to have the judgment of Japanese intellectuals. It is this: “Suppose the Park regime falls. Park Chung Hee would hardly go out leaving Kim Dae Jung untouched—chances are he would have Kim eliminated first. Surely Kim Dae

Jung himself acutely senses the danger to his life. If Kim is eliminated along with Park, then Japan and America could help set up a less revolutionary successor. Does this not mean in effect that Park is holding Kim Dae Jung hostage against international as well as domestic pressures?" One rumor holds that America was persuaded to accept the hostage role for Kim Dae Jung. Certainly the present [Nixon] administration has no reason to love a Kim Dae Jung with strong allies in the critical wing of the [U.S.] Democratic Party. Here it is interesting to interject a statement reportedly made by the Korean government: "After all the damage already done to our image at home and abroad, what will happen if we let Kim Dae Jung go overseas? Saving face is very important to Orientals, so help us build up our image."

The leading actor on the image-up circuit seems to be the former presidential assistant and Harvard graduate Hahm Pyong Choon, the newly appointed Korean ambassador to the U.S. His primary role apparently is to get close to Secretary of State Henry Kissinger and other key figures in the Nixon administration. While he can hardly presume to praise President Park, he can at least pass the word that Kim Dae Jung is too radical to be trusted. If this placates America and Japan can be calmed down, then Korea will also get quiet. This is the strategy, according to this line of thought, needed to subdue pressures before next March when the universities reopen. The Nixon administration and the Japanese Liberal Democratic Party both view the personal crisis involving Kim Dae Jung and the national crisis of Korea as a whole as likely to continue for some time. Hence, our conversation revolved around the need for a movement to upset this set of international expectations and whatever intrigues they may involve.

There is a semilegendary saying in Korea that if high school students should join the university students' struggle, the army would refuse to move against them, and the government would fall. There were indications recently that, beginning with Dong Duk Girls' High School, demonstrations might spread to many high schools throughout the country. Consequently, on December 2

the middle schools and high schools were recessed for "early winter vacation." The oil supply shortage was the reason given.

December 3 brought a sudden shuffle of the Cabinet, including dismissal of Lee Hu Rak as head of the KCIA. Naturally, this was shocking news. But soon it was clear that the Cabinet shuffle was only a game of political peek-a-boo to hoodwink the public into thinking some significant changes were made. No real changes occurred; Kim Jong Pil's faction remains intact, and a few of Park Chung Hee's group were included in the new Cabinet Lineup. It all adds up to strengthening the system of direct rule by Park. The minister of education and the minister of culture and public information, both belonging to the Kim Jong Pil faction, remain in office. For the students and the mass media this means that the situation will continue as before. The new head of the Central Intelligence Agency is a Kim Jong Pil man. On various occasions special presidential assistants have intoned these revealing sentiments: "Look at the North, or at Japan in former times—there is always a strong integrative force at the center. We too must build a powerful order with Park Chung Hee at the center."

However much the foundations of that order may already be crumbling, the dream of the Park group does not even quiver. This invites a multitude of conjectures as to why it was felt necessary to carry out the peek-a-boo routine. One speculation sees internal rivalry between Kim Jong Pil and Lee Hu Rak as the cause; thus, Kim contrived to remove Lee by applying a gentle brake to the student demonstrations, hoping for a reaction that would disgrace Lee. But student protest is too strong; it cannot be so easily suppressed.

Another theory sees the shuffle as a way to cause a lull in political tensions in order to carry out the ROK-Japan Ministerial Conference. Though the government could, if it chose, completely wipe out all anti-Park movements, at the moment it must act prudently. The results of the joint Ministerial Conference will be reflected immediately in next year's budget, and so anything that might impede the success of the conference must be avoided. Passports

are withheld, for instance, from Japan-bound scholars who might exert an unfavorable influence on public opinion there.

Yet another hunch is that the situation is getting beyond Park's own control, so he decided to put responsibility for dealing with all the tough social problems—students, the press, the churches, and the like—temporarily into Kim Jong Pil's hands. If things do not straighten out soon, then early next year he can introduce a new wave of suppression. Park can thus justify himself to the people, and to Japan and America as well, by saying that there was nothing else he could do. It would be so like him to encourage a mild thaw to let "one hundred schools contend, one hundred flowers bloom," then follow it early next year with a wholesale crackdown on dissenters.

Whatever the reason for the Cabinet shuffle, the character of the Park regime has not changed in the least. The KCIA these days, it is said, absolutely will not intrude upon schools, the press, or church affairs. In exchange, though, four rules must be observed: do nothing to harm Park Chung Hee; do nothing that attempts to change the system; say nothing related to security measures against the North; and do nothing that might stimulate price rises. One must ask, then, what can be said or done? The only option left is to remain silent in the face of the present miserable conditions. Park Chung Hee is not the sort of man to retreat of his own accord, not even if he sees blood. We fear the tragic day is surely coming when the blood of many will flow. O God, deliver us from another April soaked in blood. . . .

Another reason

(Dec. 10)

On December 7 President Park ordered the unconditional release of arrested students—an unprecedented act. Were there, as some surmise, covert American pressures to do so? Secretary of State Kissinger huddled with President Park for forty minutes on December 6; what did they discuss? The newspapers reported one high-ranking source as summing up their discussions in four

points:

1. Support for the South-North talks.
2. Maintenance of the mutual ROK-U.S. defense system.
3. No discussion of China's demand for reduction or withdrawal of the "United Nations troops" in Korea.
4. Affirmation of steady development of the Korean economy.

Other sources report, however, that Kissinger unilaterally demanded, without seeking Park's opinion, that 1) the present truce be advanced to a peace treaty, 2) South Korean troops be reduced by 100,000 men, and 3) more be done to stabilize the internal situation in Korea. This report is not confirmed, but is fully conceivable. It is said that Park has a tendency to throw ashtrays when angered, and a Blue House source has informed us that the ashtrays flew following Kissinger's departure. It makes us wonder what, in fact, did take place during their meeting. President Park is also said to have been infuriated by the visit of Professor Edwin O. Reischauer of Harvard University (Harvard has invited Kim Dae Jung to be a resident scholar, and has awarded Kim a scholarship which Reischauer came to Korea on November 17 to offer Kim).

One week after Kissinger's visit President Park appeared at the opening ceremony of a "National Leaders Conference" that brought together 4,100 persons related to the New Village Movement. Praised as the great pioneer of this movement, Park stressed its importance as the "main arena for cultivating the roots of Korean-style democracy, for nourishing true patriotism, and for realizing the ideals of the October Revitalization." Korean-style democracy was the catchword used in the declaration of martial law in October 1972, a slogan long-forgotten until, on this occasion, it came suddenly to Park's lips. One friend interprets the resurrection of this old battle-cry as follows: "Park revived the Korean-style slogan because the students have denounced it as an empty phrase used only to justify his dictatorship. Too, it is his way of rejecting the Western-style democracy of Kissinger and of declaring

his intention never to retreat from his dictatorial position.”

Promoting the North-South talks unquestionably deepens Park's present dilemma. North Korea's coolness to proposed dialogue since the Kim Dae Jung affair further exacerbates the Park regime's isolation. Maintaining political continuity through one-man rule in order to proceed with the North-South talks and to seek reunification of Korea, then, is a requirement no longer domestically viable. Indeed, if the Park government cannot even manage to ease the tensions between South and North Korea, it begins to lose its reason, domestically and internationally, for existing at all. Covertly, Park spreads the word that the North supports Kim Dae Jung's cause because Kim himself is sympathetic toward and has connections with the North. Accordingly, all communications with Kim Dae Jung are banned, and talking about Kim is the chief taboo in Korea today. He may not be visited, of course, nor can he go about freely. Typically, though, he is detained behind a veil of “freedom.”

Consequently, I frequently encounter persons who share this feeling: “Why does North Korea not say something a little more specific, instead of simply expressing support for Kim Dae Jung?” As a Catholic Kim is anticommunist, but he would still be able to carry on conversations in the interests of the Korean people on a basis of mutual respect and understanding of the two different systems. Park betrays the people's interests, has lost their trust, and no longer has any real confidence in the North-South talks. We want a person who can stand within the system of the South and engage seriously in an exchange of views with the full support of the people.

One noticeable trend these days is the relatively lenient treatment of persons indicted on “spy” charges. It is not uncommon for a prosecutor's demand for the death sentence to be reduced in actual sentencing to around eight years' imprisonment. This trend is viewed as related to the North's demand for release of political prisoners condemned for violations of the Anti-Communist and National Security laws. Perhaps this leniency is unavoidable if

continued support of the Park government is contingent upon continuation of the North-South talks.

Park's directive of December 7 ordered the immediate release of detained students and the relaxation of penalties on schools. In all, 119 students were freed, including twenty-two who had been sentenced on criminal charges. Immediately upon their release, the students issued an antigovernment declaration. Others continue fasting to advocate revision of the Revitalization Constitution and restoration of democracy. Students welcoming the released students carried placards calling for "repeal of unjust laws and censure of the unjust government." The placards were seized by the police.

There are many reasons why the government had to assume a more tolerant posture toward the students. No one knows what course history will take, but at least the students, intellectuals, and concerned citizens will keep shouting for the restoration of democracy. Though his tactics may alter, Park will surely make every effort to remain in power.

I have just received a memorandum on the release of imprisoned students: "Three students died, and two were seriously injured. It is widely reported that electrical torture was the cause." According to this source, fifteen of the twenty-two already sentenced were reportedly forced to enlist in the army, but in fact these five (three dead, two in critical condition) are included among the fifteen. The families of the fifteen do not know where they are now. This report is spreading rapidly throughout Seoul, and it may well be the hidden truth behind the Cabinet shuffle, the students' release, and the forced enlistment of the fifteen. Voices in other countries will, we hope, call for an investigation and public announcement of what happened to the fifteen. Rumor or truth, these reports are understandable after the report of Professor Choi Jong Gil's death from KCIA torture. It is indeed a mad, mad world.

As a matter of fact, in the case of Professor Choi the highly dubious conduct of the KCIA has led to quite unexpected results. Professor Choi was originally said to have suffered from high blood

pressure, but then the report of a Korean spy network in West Germany was introduced. Because the "spy" story was hastily construed, there appeared curious inconsistencies which have become the object of some ridicule. Related to this story is a rather strange document which happened to come into my hands.

It is said to have been written by Kim Song Su, one of the key figures implicated in the West Germany spy report. In the KCIA's October 25 announcement of "exposure of a huge spy network based in Europe," Kim Song Su is described as its planner and contact person. To him, and to Koreans in West Germany who know him, this came as a complete surprise. Churches and newspapers in West Germany made protests to, and demanded an apology from, the ROK consulate in West Germany. A few lines from this document (dated November 20, 1973, in Frankfurt), circulated by Kim himself, may be quoted as one example of the way the Park regime and the KCIA operate.

As for the allegation that I have returned temporarily to Korea three times since 1970 on directives from Lee Jae Woon, and that I gave orders to, and received communications from, Kim Chang Hyon: I am from the same hometown as Kim Chang Hyon, we have been mountain-climbing together, and I know him very well; but I have absolutely no political relations with him. I have never met the person named Lee Jae Woon. To collect materials for my graduate thesis and to visit my aged parents after getting married in Germany, I have visited Korea only once, from late July to September in 1970; statements about three temporary returns are completely without grounds. By checking with the Korean Embassy or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Korean Central Intelligence Agency should know these facts better than I. I am at a loss to understand their intentions in claiming that I made three temporary visits to Korea.

To the allegation that, on my orders, Kim Chang Hyon sent me copies of "The Monthly Economic Review": First of all, I did not know that such a publication exists in our country.

Secondly, if it is a monthly, then the magazine presumably is publicly available; hence it is beyond my comprehension why it would be designated a secret government document.

For the reasons explained above, I regard it as wholly irresponsible for the KCIA arbitrarily to make public such serious charges concerning my personal affairs, without any foundation and without first checking the facts.

I have, it is true, many times criticized the antidemocratic methods of the present Korean government, as well as the widening gap between rich and poor in our country. I have never, however, engaged in any form of political activity. . . .

In my opinion, the "spy incident" is being used to justify or create an alibi for the intelligence operations which continue to impose a reign of terror on our brothers at home and abroad, and which seek particularly to suppress or prevent any critical activity among Koreans living overseas. It is especially harsh and inhuman to publish in the newspapers, without bothering to ascertain the facts, charges which sacrifice even one Korean for political ends; and I vigorously protest such actions.

Announcements of "spy incidents" occur frequently in times of domestic instability. Since most of them are regarded as fabrications, a real spy story would not be believed. Not when everyone who merely criticizes the Park regime is labeled "red."

Resistance persists

(Dec. 16)

From those who read the newspapers carefully we sometimes hear such scathing comments as to make our hearts ache. "If this is the best they can do, then every last one of the papers should be scrapped." What draws forth such reactions is the feeling that the public media in a given society at a given time become too much the tool of established power. The media become alienated from the people, and thus the object of their complaints and censure.

So writes a certain journalism professor of the government's information policy, in the weekly *Bulletin* of the Reporters' Association (June 22, 1973). For this mild statement, the professor had the misfortune to be hauled off to jail, and the *Bulletin* was downgraded from a weekly to a monthly. What might seem nothing at all in other countries, in Korea gets one into serious trouble.

Given this situation, the students have no alternative than to make the press an object of their attacks. Thanks to the courage of some newsmen, the papers are beginning, albeit cautiously, to carry articles not previously attempted. Furthermore, a recent informal consultation of eleven elder statesmen, including former President Yun Po Sun, to discuss the present situation was reported on the front pages, including the appeal they issued to President Park to "restore the democratic system."

Though still quite cautious, the media are beginning to exhibit some independence. Many of us read with great interest the lines from a certain column quoted below:

For the last few months printed materials from other countries, both newspapers and magazines, have arrived marked up from cover to cover. This includes everything, dailies, weeklies, monthlies, whatever, from free countries such as America, England, Japan and so on. The methods of censoring are generally audacious. In too many cases, whole pages are deleted, ripped out, cut up with scissors, or completely blacked out with ink. Even things known by everyone the world over are blotted out. It is like closing one's eyes and covering one's ears; or, as the saying goes, "trying to hide the sky with the palm of your hand."

We wonder what impression this sort of thing gives to foreign countries. Even if there is something unpleasant inside a paper or magazine, what harm is done by having a look? Cutting up pages, painting them over with black ink—this is a hangover from the Dark Ages. It is difficult to imagine this happening in modern civilized society. This sort of foolishness not only throws our society into retrogression, but also

threatens the loss of the nation's honor and the people's dignity. We are truly standing at a crossroad leading either to light or to darkness.

Is the relaxed stance toward the press destined to be short-lived? Kim Jong Pil says that maintaining dialogue can help to tide over the present crisis. That is, if, from his point of view, it actually serves to preserve the government. After all, the preservation of power is the primary concern and, on his terms, there can be no antigovernment movements. He merely wishes to maintain the present regime as it is and to secure the complete subjugation of the people in the name of cooperation. Is this really the way, we wonder, to ride out the present storm?

I asked someone present at a recent interview with the prime minister just what he said. His reply was clear and simple: "Everyone wanted to say, 'We want Park Chung Hee to resign and the Revitalization system abolished,' but no one dared say this. It was quite a pointless interview, actually, with each one busily trying to pass the buck to someone else to make the expected compliments on Park's great achievements. The prime minister disavowed any knowledge of KCIA surveillance of the churches. I thought to myself, 'This man can really lie. Wasn't he the first head of the KCIA, the one under whom surveillance of the campuses began?' "

Then he went on, "He reported Kissinger as saying on his recent visit, 'The Park government is stable, and because this stability must be maintained, America supports the Park government.' Kim Jong Pil insinuated that this meant the absolute support of America. He ended the interview with a warning that an increase in complaints could bring some very unhappy results. That was the extent of the interview with Kim Jong Pil."

I asked my informant if he thought Kim Jong Pil preferable to Park Chung Hee. His answer was brief but oblique: "He thinks himself very clever. On the Kim Dae Jung case he thinks he has lied beautifully and completely fooled the people. His attitude is that this is what politics is all about. But the people are smarter

than he; they detest his lies from the bottom of their hearts.”

It is easy to catch some of the things whispered about in Seoul these days. For example, one view is that students and intellectuals have regained their confidence from recent protests; but they will soon run afoul of Kim Jong Pil's hide-and-seek strategies, the heavy hand of Park Chung Hee's suppression will come down upon them, and they will scatter again. In this line of thought the presently low level of government brutality will, they fear in the recesses of their hearts, escalate from spring. Of course, many, many people are simply absorbed with living from one day to the next. . . .

I forgot to mention that I showed to some friends and students a copy of the January issue²¹ of *Sekai* that I was able to get my hands on. More than anything else, they were astonished by the pictorial “In Quest of Freedom.” “Did we fight like this?”, “Did we have placards with such slogans as these?”, they exclaimed. On their behalf, let me express appreciation.

The statement by Japanese intellectuals on the Kim Dae Jung affair was also reported recently (*Chosun Ilbo*, December 12). This indicates that the press here can breathe a bit more easily now.

JAPANESE INTELLECTUALS APPEAL FOR
ISSUE OF PASSPORT TO KIM DAE JUNG

Twenty leading Japanese intellectuals, including two Nobel Prize winners, on December 10 appealed to President Park Chung Hee to issue a passport to Kim Dae Jung for travel to America. The appeal was delivered to the Korean Embassy in Japan.

Their appeal read, “Based on the spirit of the Human Rights Declaration, we hope that Kim Dae Jung's desire to travel abroad may be realized at the earliest possible date.”

Among those making this appeal were 1949 Nobel Prize recipient Yukawa Hideki, 1965 Nobel Prize recipient Tomonaga Shinichirō, and former president of Hosei University Tanikawa Tetsuzō.

This news item was small, but its impact on Korean intellectuals was very large.

This letter will be my last one for 1973. I hope very much that my 1974 letters will be less gloomy and, like the coming spring, more triumphant. I hesitate to end this way, but want to share several items from a secret document which can now perhaps be revealed. These items will give some idea of the studies and plans current among young Koreans hoping for a revolution.

*Several young members of the Youth Council for Protecting Democracy, including Lee Jae Oh, Kim Chong Tae, Choi Il Jon, and Kim Dal Su, were arrested and imprisoned. They were tortured and made to confess they are spies. Kim Chong Tae is in critical condition from gunshot wounds.

*The November 5 statement by leading Korean intellectuals gave a strong impetus to the anti-Park forces. The statement spurred a quantitative expansion in the student movement, which had gone into a slump after the October 2 activities at Seoul National University's College of Liberal Arts and Sciences, and it also helped solidify the intellectuals and religious circles.

*A movement will arise to promote participation by representatives of all political parties, social organizations, and democratic citizens in efforts seeking revision of the Constitution, an anti-Japanese movement, and the Coordination Committee of South and North Korea. This movement will win the support and response of the people.

*Due to uncertainties over the oil and energy crises, excessive taxes, and foreign investments, many light industries and trading firms are becoming paralyzed.

*Accordingly, large-scale dismissals and maltreatment of workers are becoming increasingly serious.

*Exploitation of workers by Japanese capitalists is reaching extreme levels, but continues to be winked at by police and the KCIA.

*The Masan free export zone, of which Japanese investments

control ninety-three percent, is, in a word, a living hell. Some 50,000 female workers, working 10–12 hours per day without any days off, receive only an average of 13,000 won [about \$27] monthly. This is 3,000 won to 4,000 won more than similar jobs in Korean companies pay, but they are employed on a daily basis, without contract, and thus always face the danger of unilateral dismissal. A concrete investigation of this zone should be made.

*In early November over one hundred girl workers at a Japanese company protested against Japanese high-handed treatment and unfair dismissals, and attacked their Japanese bosses with sticks. The Japanese fled, and the KCIA and police were mobilized to subdue the girls. Korean-Japanese problems are concentrated in this zone, so trouble is expected to break out here soon.

*Within the country there is great potential for the outburst of an anti-Japanese movement in such problems as the sellout of Chejudo island to Japan, tensions over the continental shelf, massive Japanese purchases of coastal lands in the vicinity of Inchon, etc.

*In the rural sector, absentee landlordism is on the increase, and land speculation has raised its ugly head. The government advertises its New Village Movement as a means to deal with farmers abandoning, selling, or losing their lands; but in fact massive land purchases by urban financiers are reviving the tenant system. More than sixty percent of cultivated farmlands of over two *tan* [about five acres, inclusive] do not belong to the actual cultivators. Most lands designated for industrial use are being sold cheaply to the Japanese. The awareness of the farmers, however, remains at a low level.

*Presently a special problem is emerging in the rural sector. According to the Revised Farmlands Law, when production for given land areas falls below expected levels, officials are authorized to transfer cultivation rights for those lands to other cultivators. Agricultural cooperatives monopolize the

distribution of fertilizers, and thus control the farmers.

*In the case of leaf tobacco, the grade, quotas, and prices (apart from land taxes) are determined by officials of the Tobacco Monopoly Agency, among whom special privileges and corruption are rampant. Because total purchase budgets are limited, many farmers suffer heavy losses from unsold produce. In early November over one hundred tobacco farmers from Chung Chong Pukdo province forced their way into the Tobacco Monopoly Agency to register a protest. One farmer who had suffered extremely heavy losses committed suicide.

*Prices for silkworm cocoons are fixed by agreements between the government and the producers. Though the international price for cocoons has gone up, this rise is not reflected in the domestic market, where cocoons still sell for only one-third the international rate. The producers would like to raise the selling price to increase their profit margin, but the government refuses to allow it.

Many more items like these are listed. Throughout the document the necessity and potential for political action is discussed. The friend who showed me this document asked if I knew that the students now refer to President Park as "Governor-General Park" and to Prime Minister Kim Jong Pil as "Civil Governor Kim" (the titles of the top and second-ranked officers during the period of Japanese colonial rule over Korea). So, "Civil Governor" Kim naturally should apologize to the Japanese government for failing to handle the Kim Dae Jung case properly, my friend suggested with a forlorn laugh. Then added, "The government takes its cut in taxes from money earned by the prostitutes. If the girls are given 20,000 won [about \$42], they can keep only 8,000. This government frowns on excess profits, you know."

"To rebuild homes washed away by floods, the government subsidizes half the costs. But the government, not the individual citizen, negotiates with the contractor. The contractors fail, for example, to pack clay properly between the roofing tiles, so the

roof leaks. Even for farmers no consideration is given to attached sheds or barns; they must either remodel or apply for completely new structures. This sort of thing, too, is under direct Blue House command. 'I'll take care of everything, just shut up and follow me' is the line; but this is where it leads. He is the worst tyrant since Yon San Gun (1495–1506, tyrannical king during the Yi dynasty, 1392–1910, who killed his own mother and was deposed)."

It almost made me choke to realize that the top priority of the Korean people must be to keep up their resistance under conditions like these. As never before, great numbers of people are clearly and totally rejecting the Park regime. A professor who witnessed the last student demonstrations put it this way: "It was very different from before; this time there seemed to be a hunger for blood-letting." Is it because the clamor against dictatorship and for democracy have converged at a high pitch? Spring comes soon. What kind of history will unfold then? We must develop strategies and tactics quite different from those of the cunning Park regime. They have the latest modern weapons, but we have the historical support of the people.

JANUARY 1974

A small victory

(Jan. 1)

Why is it that our relations with Japan are so often reflected in unpleasant events? In December of last year, for instance, it was reported that Korean fishermen filed a complaint against Japanese fishing boats entering Korean territorial waters under the pretext of seeking emergency shelter, though actually engaging in "indiscriminate fishing." According to a news report from Pusan, "Complaints by Korean fishermen that Japanese fishing boats willfully exploit Korean waters around coastal islands during the winter season for swellfish and cuttlefish, under the pretext of seeking refuge despite fair weather, are so numerous that the Korean maritime police are taking steps to confirm these charges and, if confirmed, to prevent such actions by the Japanese in the future."

Japanese fishing vessels of over 100 tons seek "emergency shelter" on the slightest pretext, though they are technically far superior to most Korean fishing boats, which are over twenty years old and poorly equipped. The Japanese are simply seeking to make full use of their technical advantage.

It was a short article concerning minor incidents. But public feeling in Korea intensifies with the accumulation of such small grievances. Farmers in the Changwon district of Kyongsang Namdo province, for instance, threw themselves on the ground in front of bulldozers clearing land scheduled for industrial use by Japanese companies. In the industrial zone at Kumi, President Park's native district, Korean workers rioted against Japanese technicians who barely escaped by using fire safety ropes. In subduing the riot the KCIA called in helicopters. Skirmishes between

the Japanese and Korean workers keep cropping up. Step by step we seem to be moving toward an explosive situation, so slogans which equate anti-Japanese opposition with opposition to the Park government are increasingly difficult to refute.

Amid such disheartening reports there occurred one heart-warming episode. On the afternoon of December 19 ten girls from Ewha Women's University staged a demonstration at Kimpo International Airport against *kisaeng* [Korean counterpart of the Japanese *geisha*] tourism. Their placards made this appeal:

Morals are corrupted and personalities degraded just to earn foreign currency. . . . Stop the prostitution tours that are turning our fatherland into a red-light district for Japanese men.

Thankfully their protest was soon taken up by women in Japan who staged a similar demonstration at Tokyo's Haneda International Airport. In response to their joint struggle, the ROK minister of culture and public information later, on December 29, ordered the "reform of unacceptable tourist administration." Korea's security officers were ordered to clamp strict controls on travel agents and organizers of group tours to stop promotion of "unsavory conduct among our women for the sake of foreign tourists." Violators of this order were threatened with severe punishment and loss of their agency licenses. Orders were also issued for the "thoroughgoing instruction of employees in the service and entertainment industries." Tourism promoters promised to mount their own cleanup campaign and to impose self-control on arrangements for *kisaeng* parties.

For the time being this may be counted a small victory for the joint Korea-Japan women's struggle. Once public opinion calms down, the same malpractices may reappear, which is common enough under the Park regime, though the number of such tourists may eventually decline due to public protests. Hotels already report difficulties due to "a sixty percent decline in foreign tourists"—most of them reportedly Japanese. Behind this lies the current

business slump in Japan. Newspaper headlines assert "OIL SHORTAGES CAUSE TOURISM DECLINE" and announce "CLOSING OF JAPANESE RESTAURANTS FOR TOURISTS." But we have much to learn from this small victory on how to wage the common struggle for improved international relations on many fronts.

In this connection it is worth mentioning the adverse effects of the intended encouragement of the Korean student movement coming from China. The actual content of the message is unknown, but the government reports the essence of a telegram addressed to Seoul National University as follows:

Recently we have heard continued reports of the circumstances of the struggle of the South Korean students and people. We Chinese students are heartened by each and every victory you win. We stand by you to eternity and view every victory by you as our own.

Similar communications reportedly were received by Korea University and Ewha Women's University. The government naturally points to these communiqués as evidence that student demonstrations strengthen communist influence, and warns against violations of the Anti-Communist Law. Opinions on this kind of thing vary greatly. One easygoing view is that such a telegram portends better relations with socialist countries in a post-Park democratic Korea. But most people probably concur with the position taken by a certain journalist:

The Chinese do not even consider whether their action will help or hinder our own strategies and tactics. For the moment at least we wish they would withhold their statements, because they are more effectively used against than for our cause. Their statements are made only for their calculated usefulness in the communists' own country.

Those engaged in protest activity feel the same way about the North. Shouts of praise and solidarity with the demonstrators in the South hurt, it is feared, more than they help the struggle here.

In any case, they are suspected of being primarily for home consumption in the North. Intellectuals taking this position feel the North should, if it truly seeks support here, make a greater effort to understand the situation of the protesters in the South and the means available to wage their struggle. A typical perspective is this:

Many dissident intellectuals and people would pay more attention to the North if it spoke and acted from a higher level of love for the people, instead of descending into mudslinging, faultfinding skirmishes with the Park government. The North does not, however, operate on a high level, and people are increasingly inclined to regard it as comparable to the Park regime. Thus, they exhibit very uncomfortable reactions to encouragement from the North. We are left with the feeling that we alone are concerned with keeping national aspirations and conduct on the highest levels, and worse, that the North looks down on us as bourgeois reactionaries.

Even so, there are still many people who are happy to see the Park regime further isolated from the North. Were the Park government capable of maintaining a dialogue with the North, that fact would bolster its claims to be the only hope for achieving unification and thus its demand for unfailing support in order to realize this goal. It would also strengthen the government's confidence in continuing its suppression of the people.

Bright eyes, evil eyes

(Jan. 1)

I should like to introduce here an essay by the incomparable Buddhist writer Bop Jong, who was one of the fifteen intellectuals who signed the November 5 (1973) statement on restoration of democracy. Penned to commemorate the passing of the year 1973, this essay was titled "Eyes aflame with pure virtue." He writes first of farmers:

Their eyes know only the faults that impede their own vision. Even if one is robbed or impoverished, it is seen as mere

misfortune; questions of the social system are not raised. The eyes of virtue revere heaven and earth, and in their fidelity alone have faith.

In contrast to the bright eyes of virtue there are the dark and evil eyes of those like the professors and students who serve—with many special privileges—on the government's "industrial survey teams." But let us have another look at an example of bright eyes.

Here is a good illustration of eyes aflame with virtue. On the evening of the 26th of December a program advertised as "An evening of anti-Japanese literature" was sponsored by the People's School, a youth movement. Held in the hall of the Dae Song Building, the huge audience left no standing room either on the stage or in the corridors, as those who attended well know. Their eyes too burned, not with hate, but love—the blazing love of country. These days such countenances are no longer seen. Most common is a look resembling fish eyes gazing vacantly out from under the shadow of a water plant. But eyes alive with a fire that burns within are rare indeed in times like these.

Bop Jong refers to 1973 as "a year of shame, through which we merely survived without taking a good, deep breath." But he adds, "What will prevent us from sitting ever idly by is the presence among us of those whose eyes burn brightly with pure virtue." Such eyes are not peculiarly Korean; their nature is universal and fundamental. "Are they not," he asks, "the eyes of man's personal salvation?"

In stark contrast to these are the dark and evil countenances of today's rulers. On the same evening (December 26) Kim Jong Pil delivered a public address lasting one hour forty minutes and broadcast by all radio and TV stations. Widely scorned as "an ever-flowing river," the essence of his speech was, briefly, "The communist army is less than thirty miles from Seoul. Therefore, we are determined, whatever may happen, to maintain a stable society. Thus, we will tolerate no such thing as opposition to the

Yushin Constitution.” The people expressed their feelings of disappointment variously: “What a long-winded speech!” “Why does he take up TV time for that kind of phony gesture?” “I thought he’d never come to the end.” “Well, it is clear that gang never intends to give up power!” His endless stream of nonsense seemed all the longer because of his strained effort to make it sound meaningful. He and his cohorts definitely do not have “eyes aflame with pure virtue”; theirs are more like the vacant gaze of fish from under the water plant’s shadow.

The government has eyes only for searching among the universities for criminals or suspects, though Bop Jong sees in the latter “eyes bright with pure virtue.” The same bright countenance is also perceived in the Christian churches. On December 3 there occurred the first demonstration launched by ordinary church members. As they marched, they sang patriotic songs and hymns of faith. For this boldness, twenty-two were arrested. Placards carried by the Christians read: “We have endured much suffering together with all of the Korean people, and today the Korean churches take their stand before the people and before history, saddened by the bone-chilling trials and tribulations inflicted upon all the churches and all believers.” This faithfully reflects, I believe, the sentiments common to all of the Korean churches today. It is said they often sing, with tearful eyes, this hymn:

Once to every man and nation comes the moment to decide,
In the strife of truth with falsehood, for the good or evil side;
Some great cause, God’s new Messiah, offering each the bloom
or blight,
And the choice goes by forever ’twixt that darkness and that
light.²²

Park Chung Hee, of course, faces a dilemma over how to deal with the Christian churches.

Among the evil-eyed groups, hate and strife continue to dominate. Lee Hu Rak’s past continues to haunt him even after his fall from power. The government reports that he went to London,

though the British Embassy in Seoul denies this claim. One reasonable speculation is that he fled to Switzerland, where his son is a student and where he had already deposited foreign currencies to cover expenses of just such a flight. It is further concluded that more recently he has moved on to Paris, having sent his family ahead, to await further "summons" to duty. If Park Chung Hee, along with Kim Jong Pil, is not able to ride out the present crisis successfully, he may need Lee Hu Rak's kind of wicked wisdom. He was recalled from the ambassador's post in Tokyo, it is remembered, to help stage the 1971 election malpractices.

At the moment, though, Kim Jong Pil is bent on destroying Lee's political base. For this purpose he has joined hands with Park Jong Kyu, chief of the presidential security force, and the present move to reduce the KCIA organization is aimed primarily at purging it of Lee Hu Rak's followers. One day I chanced to meet a fairly high-level KCIA official whose uneasiness was so great that he asked if I could help him find alternate employment. I only laughed and said, "When things reach that point, you KCIA people had better plan on emigrating abroad." There would be no place in Korean society for an ex-KCIA man. In the course of our conversation he added the adroit observation that "the KCIA is just waiting for trouble to break out, then it will be found useful again. When that happens, all of us will be roped into action."

After the Kim Dae Jung incident, Kim Jong Pil waited for some disturbance to provide an opportunity to oust Lee Hu Rak. Now Lee's group is watching for another time of disorder to stage his comeback. Such is the underworld of men with evil countenances. Meantime, violence flourishes at the expense of real national strength.

Another observation on Park Jong Kyu may be made in passing. Following Lee Hu Rak's removal, he has made every effort to become Park Chung Hee's closest confidant. He is a native of Masan in Kyongsang Namdo province and controls half of the Masan free export zone. Japanese investments must get his approval. The district's electric power supply, its newspapers and

radio stations are all under his influence. His network of power is considered firmly linked to President Park's.

Recently he gained control over Masan College and had its name changed to Kyongsang University. He then brought his younger brother (until that time a wig salesman in New York) to become the university's new president. In the near future it is expected that scholars will be invited from all over the world to attend a big symposium sponsored by this university—a gala affair where foreign scholars uninformed of Korea's real situation will dance with their patronizing Korean partners in a command performance.

In another example of international collusion among the evil-eyed ones, we recently witnessed a curious happening in Korea. Experiencing difficulties like those Lee Hu Rak had in finding refuge after his removal, Col. Narong Kittikachorn, son of Thailand's deposed prime minister [Thanom Kittikachorn, forced to resign October 15, 1973 by Thai student demonstrations], has just arrived in Seoul. Once the third most powerful man in Thailand's former nepotistic military regime, he is held responsible for the deaths of four hundred student protesters. Denied refuge by many countries, he arrived in Seoul on December 27. A news item on January 1 reports that he has now disappeared from his Seoul hotel. One journalist commented on this with a pained expression: "Birds of a feather flock together, alright. Narong's wife and children apparently are here, too. Park Chung Hee bestows upon them a special compassion, thinking of his own future. . . . If his own gang were ousted, Park's search for a haven would be frantic. Little things like this seem to cause his kind a great deal of anxiety."

As well they might. Even a few Assemblymen of the ruling party may have reason to fear exposure. As things grow worse, the police and the KCIA, who are supposed to suppress antigovernment movements, have actually begun to slacken their efforts. The base animal instinct for survival seems to be at work among them all. In this is reflected the people's feeling that the Park regime may not last much longer.

Immune to fear

(Jan. 17)

At 5 P.M. on January 8 the temporary lull in suppression that had lasted about one month came to an end. At that time President Park issued "Emergency Decrees Nos. 1 and 2" prohibiting any campaign for revision of the Constitution²³ and putting the press under much stricter censorship. The guise of promoting dialogue was dropped as a time of renewed violence and use of naked power began. The full force of martial law prevails, though the army was not called into action for fear of a coup. Everyone expected this would happen sometime, but still the people nourished faint hopes that it would not. Hence, they are stirred to troubled thoughts about why such forceful measures were imposed, and how, if at all, the regime can be resisted.

The newspapers dare not speak out against the decrees, which they simply announced without comment. Several opposition leaders and a number of intellectuals reportedly were arrested, but released within twenty-four hours. They appear to have suffered nothing more than interrogation. Many persons, and particularly elder statesmen, were put under house arrest. Visits to offices of various organizations by KCIA agents, often in groups of three or four, are numerous. It is all part of the technique of limiting activities through round-the-clock surveillance. For the moment the strategy is harassment by intimidation rather than imprisonment.

As even personal conversations between individuals are susceptible to condemnation as "rumors and false reports," this is an absolutely thoroughgoing dictatorship. More than twenty Christian church leaders are subjected to a round-the-clock freeze on their activities. The content of their sermons must be reported before they are preached, and at worship services several KCIA informants are always present. Sermons are all secretly taped, but the agents add an extra dimension of open intimidation by their presence. "We do not intend to arrest you, but there are other means of disposing of you, so be careful," one person related to

the press says he was warned by a recognized KCIA agent. Exposure to the constant danger of terrorism has turned the entire nation into Park's personal prison.

Despite this, Seoul's citizens are incredibly brave. Everywhere they freely express their exasperation. "We will not stand for much more of this" can be heard almost anywhere, in taxis, restaurants, coffee shops. One taxi driver calmly initiated a conversation with me by saying, "I don't know who you are or where you work. But I'll tell you one thing, it's more than I can stand, the way they try to sit tight and protect themselves with such outrageous measures."

It will be nearly impossible to still such voices of popular criticism. The people may have become immune to fear. Students are said to be resigned to the possibility of arrest if they stage demonstrations. Among those assigned to put down opposition, loyalty to the regime is waning. Park Chung Hee is, therefore, becoming increasingly hysterical, we are told.

Certainly the Emergency Decrees are taken as a sign of hysteria. Responsibility for dialogue between the government and the opposition had been temporarily shifted to Kim Jong Pil, while Park devoted himself to the New Village Movement; but it was reportedly Park who lost his patience and imposed the decrees. Kim Jong Pil had planned to go to Pusan to cut the tape to launch a new oil tanker, but cancelled his engagement suddenly when the decrees were issued. Two reasons are suggested for the urgency behind them. One grows out of the announced defections from the ruling Democratic Republican Party by men like Chong Ku Yong and Park Chong Tae. Another is the reported hardening of a factional split in the Blue House. These two internal threats to the stability of the Park regime led to imposition of the Emergency Decrees, it is said. On this, one journalist offered the following opinion: "Park Chung Hee became fed up with frictions and took drastic action. Actually, Chong Ku Yong is eighty years old and, like the other defectors, already far out on the fringe of the party. It was much as if they were already outside of the party. Even so, Park lost his cool and created an atmosphere of hysteria."

Ruling party Assemblymen and compliant intellectuals are presently touring the countryside to plead the case for the Emergency Decrees. The people, though, laugh in mock sympathy: "Each Assemblyman of the ruling party is said to have received a year-end bonus of two million won (about \$4,170), and monthly pay runs around 750,000 won, all-inclusive, so the persuasion tours are hardly too much to ask in return."

The emergency measures also afford a good excuse for denying travel documents to Kim Dae Jung. The Park government is determined to hang on to a hostage it took so much trouble to capture. The pseudo-opposition parties, and especially their stooge-like leaders, are reportedly huddled in conferences. They are particularly concerned to block Kim Dae Jung's chances to rise to power in any post-Park situation.

Far more disturbing are current indications that certain Japanese politicians have served notice of grave inconveniences to them if Kim Dae Jung were allowed to travel abroad. Are they worried about the coming summer elections for the Diet's Upper House? The formal complaints on handling of the Kim Dae Jung case made by the Japanese government through diplomatic channels appear increasingly to be only a political gesture. Japanese businessmen are understood to be spreading the word against Kim Dae Jung even among American friends; if Park is unacceptable, then his successor must come from the same camp. There is a widespread rumor (possibly circulated intentionally by the Korean government) that Prime Minister Tanaka confided in Kim Jong Pil, concerning Kim Dae Jung, "I cannot understand why a politician is so eager to travel overseas." In any case, to protect its economic interests in Korea, Japan has also stepped into the Korean political arena.

These are the pressing realities against which the Korean people must struggle. It is in this context that something like the "Evening of anti-Japanese literature" had such an impact. It is why the gathered crowd shouted, "The bloody struggle begun by our forefathers . . . must be revived and continued in our own struggle

today.” “Speaker and audience alike were caught up in one great swell of emotion,” the newspapers reported, when the poem below was read aloud that evening.

When joyous laughter should fill and overflow this earth,
It is filled with sobbing over life cast down so cheaply—
Have poets thrown away their pens, to lie down and cover
their ears?

And orators closed their mouths, to sit by and shut their
eyes?

The battalions whose voices should lift their marching song
to the top of the farthest mountain,
Have broken ranks, and are trampling each other down in
the streets—

Is the standard-bearer dozing idly in the shade,
The trumpeter taking a nap, just taking a nap?

This is an anonymous poem written in 1935—a time past that is wholly contemporary. The sponsoring “People’s School” is part of a young people’s movement. Its promoters, Chang Joon Ha and Paik Ki Wan, were arrested because the government feared these two leaders of the campaign for constitutional revision, now blocked by the Emergency Decrees, might turn to promotion of an anti-Japanese movement. But, however much the government may want to suppress some activities directed against Japan, it can hardly do so publicly, without drawing criticism of its own indecent pro-Japan posture. Normally accommodating two hundred persons, the meeting hall on that evening was jammed with over one thousand people. What is the Japanese response, we wonder, to this groundswell of anti-Japanese feeling among the Korean people? Some Japanese are doubtless happy to have it contained by Park Chung Hee’s bayonets.

The restrictions of the Emergency Decrees apply also, it is announced, to foreign correspondents. This is intended, of course, to undercut the role played by the Japanese press in lieu of the

Korean press. Until now, reports appearing in Japanese newspapers were quickly known in Korea as well, giving rise to the student protesters' reliance on the Japanese media. Calling a press conference for Korean reporters when issuing an antigovernment statement is only ceremonial; it is the foreign press corps upon which critics rely. This has seemed to me a fairly good arrangement; but precisely for this reason, the Park regime decided to clamp down on foreign newsmen, particularly Japanese correspondents.

There is a rumor going around Seoul that the *New York Times* ran a story about the arrests and harassment of Koreans under the new security measures, but that the Japanese press printed nothing beyond what the Korean government announced. This rumor has provoked feelings that the Japanese press is also unreliable. This view goes on to suspect that it is the strongly pro-ROK politicians, businessmen, and collaborators with the Park regime among the Japanese who have pressured the Japanese press into silence. Are the Japanese newspapers cooperating in such a scheme? Disappointment and disdain toward Japan's cultural leaders is beginning to spread among us. Are Japanese scholars and journalists aware of this strange complex which affects us? If not, then the tragic chapter written in Asian history by Japan is not yet ended. How do our Japanese friends feel about the cheers with which the Korean people, and especially the students, greeted reports of the way Prime Minister Tanaka was "welcomed" in Southeast Asia?

The government makes excessive use these days of the phrase "March crisis,"²⁴ as a pretext, of course, for its get-tough policy. All of a sudden the government came out recently with a series of programs aimed at the masses. The president speaks of "lessening the burden on low-income groups" and issued Emergency Decree No. 3 to "stabilize daily life." The ordinary residential tax was cancelled, while assessments on luxury homes were raised as much as 860 percent. Monthly incomes up to 50,000 won (about \$142) are now tax-exempt. The government spreads these benefits around to relieve its own difficulties, but can it thereby win back an already alienated people? Too many people feel that it is too late for a

recovery of confidence, and that too many programs are being launched to retain power without careful analysis of their real effects. In fact, these efforts reveal the weakness of a government whose base is crumbling.

The government's posture amounts to nothing more than a request for continued support no matter what happens. The people's quest, however, is for changes in the system carried out through conscientious dialogue among all groups and an end to the night of anxiety bred by violence. If real "compassion" of this sort undergirded the government proposals, they naturally would be taken seriously by the people. Incapable of this spirit, the Park regime must push its policies through by force. The insincerity of violent coercion is readily apparent to the people, and thus the crisis grows deeper daily.

A will to wait out the storm

(Jan. 30)

On January 17 thirty young pastors signed and issued a statement calling for "repeal of the Emergency Decrees" that make a mockery of the people, for freedom to discuss revision of the Constitution, and for abrogation of the Revitalization system. The pastors were hauled off by the KCIA and initially nothing further was known of their situation. Now it is reported that eleven of them were arrested on January 21, though five were released (January 26) after promising to reflect on their mistakes. These five must have yielded under torture. All thirty of the young pastors surely took action knowing they would probably receive the full fifteen-year penalty stipulated by the Emergency Decrees.

The statement was drawn up by five pastors. By sacrificing themselves they have sent forth a plea that freedom and democracy may blossom forth again in this country. Hoping to be the spark that would set off a widespread democratic protest, they first flung themselves into the fire. Unless someone makes the initial sacrifice, the winds of revolution will never blow. They had the sacrificial spirit of martyrs.

Those who did not sign but were present when it was announced were also taken away by the KCIA for questioning and were cruelly abused. Even reporters who rushed to the scene were hauled off by the KCIA. Choosing the wrong subject for reporting can be dangerous. The reporters were also set free after signing good-conduct pledges.

Among the eleven arrested, one planned to get married in February; he participated in spite of efforts by his colleagues to dissuade him. Another pastor would have celebrated his birthday the next day. Calmly calculating that he would be unable to do so, he bought a cake and held a celebration with his wife and children on the day before the statement was to be issued. With a family that knew not when they would all be together again, he prayed. Anguished by the realization of the cruel price one must pay to be a conscientious pastor in today's Korea, he must have wept as he prayed for God to watch over the family he was leaving behind.

These young pastors had been engaged primarily in missions to workers and the poor and thus requested their colleagues to keep up the work they were leaving. One of the pastors had built a church in a slum area, but his makeshift building was continually being condemned and torn down. After a while the slum inhabitants rose up to protest this heartless destruction of what was to them a place of rest, relief, and even medical care. They won the right to resume worship services in their humble shack, but always under the strict surveillance of the police. This pastor had obviously come to feel his ministry was thwarted by harsh suppression—like other pastors frustrated by the oppressive barriers set up by the KCIA and the government-controlled labor unions. Thus, they decided on their almost suicidal declaration. It definitely had a major impact.

Most of the labor unions in Korea function in complete, subservient harmony with industry, the government, and particularly the KCIA. Critical elements are quickly branded "communist" and arrested. On the whole, the Catholics and Protestants working among laborers have managed to avoid the "communist" label

and have gone on with their duties, but their efforts to improve the miserable working conditions are constantly suppressed. Organized labor unions are prohibited in foreign-owned enterprises in Korea, so workers in the industrial zone for Japanese companies tried to form an underground union. Girl students working with the factory girls for this purpose found out that they had been reported and were going to be arrested, so escaped the night before. Now, they are calling for support, we hear, from a secret hiding place.

The servile unions have suffered defeat in some instances. At the Dae Han Textile Company (300 male workers, 1,200 female workers) in Seoul's Yongdongpo district, a certain local union head was overthrown by the workers. This resulted, however, in violent KCIA suppression of his successor. The workers' struggle goes on despite these inhibitive conditions. A few lines from the January 5 declaration by the Christian Conference on Labor Problems (under joint Catholic and Protestant sponsorship) are worth quoting.

Examples of recent violations of workers' human rights

Chi Dong Jin (age 33), head of the local union at Dae Han Textile Company, was beaten inside the company by a gang of toughs at the instigation of the company president; Kim Jin Suh (age 24), a worker at Han Young Textile Company, was stabbed to death with a screwdriver on March 18, 1971, by gangsters hired by the company president; no arrests have been made to date.

Staff members of a local union at Yu Rim Trading Company and Tae Kwang (now Kwangjin) Textile Company were beaten, requiring three weeks' medical treatment.

In retaliation for union organizing, Yu Rim Trading Company fired five workers, and Tae Kwang Textile Company thirty-two workers. Currently, Kwangjin Textile is threatening to close down in order to crush the union, stirring up great anxiety among its workers.

Korean workers at Japanese plants in the Masan free ex-

port zone have been collectively beaten.

Female bus conductors have been bodily searched, robbed of all their possessions, and forced to walk home for distances of up to fifteen kilometers.

Besides these flagrant violations of human rights, indirect abuses include problems such as impaired vision and other eye damage to female workers at an American electronics company.

To deal with these and similar problems, this Conference passed the following resolutions.

Resolutions

1. The government authorities should take full responsibility for reforming the atmosphere and practices allowing industrialists to inflict violence on the workers, for eradicating the premodern, 'feudalistic mentality of management, and for establishing democratic constitutional order.
2. If the Korean Federation of Trade Unions and the All-Korea Textile Union are not capable of protecting the basic human rights of the workers, they should be immediately abolished, and, moreover, they should make an apology for their failures to the four million workers in Korea and the people of Korea.
3. The freedoms of the workers must be guaranteed and all activities that infringe upon these rights stopped; organizational contradictions must be rectified immediately.
4. We Catholics and Protestants will undertake practical steps to deal with violations of human rights in the industrial sector, mobilizing all available strength to concentrate on the establishment of social justice in industry.

This organization relies on the power of conscience to influence the workers but habitually clashes with the KCIA-directed union leaders. On January 21 a rebuttal issued by the servile Korean Federation of Trade Unions appeared in the newspapers. The rebuttal began with these words: "While directing a stern warning

to those religious leaders who abandon their proper duties to interfere in the labor unions, we publicly announce that if they continue their indiscriminate trouble-making, we shall mobilize the entire strength of our organization to crush them.” In another place it repeats its warning to “the group of senseless religious workers” and accuses them of “infiltrating our labor organizations to agitate the innocent workers and distort the wholesome processes of the labor movement, stirring up confusion among the workers and division in the organizations,” then reiterates its firm resolution “to mobilize all our organizational strength to crush them.”

Thus the battle goes on between the sheep and the wolves—though the sheep sometimes shiver with fear. But they are always struggling to gain freedom from fear. And our hopes are fastened to these signs that the conscience of the people is still alive somewhere in our society. One newspaper recently (January 18) ran a short poem titled “Silent Prayer,” that expressed in delicate allegorical language the common mood of the Korean people.

O Lord, send down warm rain today on the fallen leaves,
Descend, to show forth the joy of new life.
Cast out coatless in the dead of a winter night,
We fight back, struggling—but know not how.
Cold and pain permeate us from our bare feet to our heads
And, hopeless, we cry out, how long, Lord, how long?

Back home, there is no place to lie down,
No quilt to ward off the wind;
Aching in both mind and body, to the marrow of each bone,
The last live spark is now gone.
How are we to endure, by ourselves, this long, long night;
O Lord, what can we do, what now?

Perhaps ours is a time when only poets can speak out; the Park regime cannot yet catch the sense of sophisticated poetic allegory.

But it is also a time when resistance alone preserves the nation's honor. During the brief year-end lull in oppression we glimpsed an example of this "honor among the people" in an exchange of youth opinions printed (December 30, 1973) in one of the newspapers. It was a dialogue between a male student at Seoul National University's Law School and a female student at Ewha Women's University. It began with this conversation:

SNU student: These days more and more of my friends are saying, "I think I will propose to the first Ewha girl I chance to meet in town." They tend to regard the girls as "animals who have stopped thinking." For instance, ask them a riddle, and they reply, "I don't know," without even trying to think of an answer. The men students, however, are "exhausted with trying to think."

Ewha student: I don't agree with what you say at all. What really surprised me, rather, was the fact that so many Ewha girls who rarely do more than listen to pop music and just play around, really average, nondescript girls, gathered together in a common cause, prayed all night, and then marched on the City Hall. Normally they don't say much, but in their hearts they all had "the same feeling about the same problem."

At present it is resistance alone that moves all people and earns their praise. In this kind of an atmosphere, the people's anger wells up within them and waits patiently for the moment of intense explosion. An eerie silence pervades the masses, and this of course makes the government all the more nervous. Hence, the government vacillates between cracking down on the students and offering them various special privileges. For instance, it has been made possible through government-administered examinations to shorten the period needed to earn university degrees. The students' frank reaction, after twelve years' experience of one-man rule, is to dismiss this seeming favor with a curt "Forget it!"

FEBRUARY 1974

National heroes

(Feb. 10)

The sufferings of our companions mount day by day. Due to its constant nervousness, the government promotes a range of tactics to trap all suspected of antigovernment involvement. Threats, arrests, torture, confinement, wiretapping—all means are mobilized. During the one-month period from January 8 to February 6 quite a number have been detained by the KCIA for three or four days' interrogation: eight organizers of last year's demonstrations at Seoul National University, including the student association president; fourteen student association presidents from various universities in Seoul, including Yonsei; and five former student leader alumni. They have been questioned regarding the background of the demonstrations on October 2 of last year, and the organization and finances of student activities since then.

Those taken into custody are, without exception, required to make a statement of opinion concerning the Revitalization Constitution and system, and the January 8 Emergency Decrees. They must also sign a pledge to refrain from political activities of any kind in the future and, if they break this pledge, to accept whatever punishment is meted out. Parents, older brothers, and professors responsible for the individual students must also sign a supplementary pledge accepting joint responsibility for the students' conduct. Even after their release, the students are required to live in their own homes, which are kept under round-the-clock surveillance by teams of three policemen per household. Students who came from outside Seoul to engage in protest activities are henceforth banned from the capital city.

These controls are applied to religious organizations and prominent individuals as well, and throughout the provinces to prevent nationwide mobilizations for demonstrations in Seoul. On January 30 three students of SNU's Medical School were taken into custody and indicted on charges of issuing statements calling for revision of the Revitalization Constitution and opposing the January 8 decrees. Fearing the antigovernment movement may spread to the high schools, strict prohibitions have been placed on graduates revisiting their former high schools. A new Fifth Section has been established in the national police headquarters to deal with campus unrest. One report on the current student situation is most revealing:

Suppression of student leaders and organizers is also carried out through their parents and relatives. If the parents or relatives happen to work in one of the government agencies, the head of the agency threatens them directly. Those working in companies come under pressure from the company president and management. Educators are pressured by the head of the government's Council on Education or the Schools Commissioner. This is the comprehensive method of maintaining surveillance over the conduct of students.

The chief editor of one of the Christian weeklies was arrested and brutally tortured for two days because of a cartoon printed in his weekly. In this cartoon a father is shown saying, "You have to know what the people want. . . ," when his child interrupts to say, "If you knew what we want, you would hurry up and move from the warmest seat!"²⁵ During his torture an apple and a glass of water were placed on a table, just out of reach, while he was beaten. After two to three weeks' hospitalization, he reappeared at his office on crutches, with his left leg in a cast. Head injuries and a broken leg attested to the vicious assault he suffered. The churches were so furious over this that the security officials made an apology, but must have chuckled to themselves, "This ought to drum some fear into the hearts of that church bunch." When

asked, "Isn't the government trying to provoke divisions among the churches?" one pastor made a lengthy reply: "Of course it is. It is forever trying to co-opt those who can be bought off with money. We have warned that this simply makes the rest of us more militant, so the government is beginning to hold back, and those in the churches who normally are eager to cash in on government support are now a bit more hesitant. They are mindful of later repercussions. Even so, the crowd planning this summer's big international rally, called EXPLO 74, are lavishly spending funds from unknown sources. The organizer of this rally, Rev. Kim Joon Kon, is a man who openly and consistently has supported Park Chung Hee throughout all his career, in spite of things like the constitutional referendum, illegal election practices, martial law, and the recent Emergency Decrees. While claiming that politics are not our concern, this Pastor Kim nonetheless insists that we should respect the political authorities and the present regime, without which, he dares to say, we could not resist communism. Christians should not get mixed up in politics, he preaches, but his own hands are dirty above the elbows from political wheeling and dealing. All of the Korean church denominations oppose his rally, but to other countries he reports full support and participation by the Christian churches and organizations in Korea. At a time when even small groups of two or three cannot gather on the streets, he is reportedly planning a massive 'Jesus march' down the main street in front of the central government buildings. It is a circus designed to make a laughingstock of Christianity. To foreigners he boasts of the freedom of worship under the Park regime, but at home he sows division among Christians and drags Christianity's image down. But his schemes will end in a colossal failure."

A few days later I happened to meet an intellectual who had been taken into custody by the KCIA. He is one of sixty-one men of letters who on January 7 had signed a statement supporting the campaign for constitutional revision (see n. 23). More than anything else, the KCIA interrogated him tenaciously about his

relations with Chang Joon Ha, who is now in prison,²⁶ and pressured him to sign the following pledge:

1. In the future I absolutely will not make any political statements or engage in any political activities.
2. I have no wish for my statements or activities to be used by the North Korean communists, and will take particular pains to see that this does not happen.
3. I have absolutely no further interest in, or relation to, anything related to constitutional revision.
4. I fully recognize the inescapable necessity of the January 8 Emergency Decrees.
5. I support the October Revitalization.

Though the contents vary slightly according to the person involved, this is the kind of test generally imposed on political suspects these days. Failure to consent to the required promises results in indefinite confinement. My friend agreed to the first four items on his list—with considerable mental anguish—but rejected the fifth. His report to me included an unforgettable observation: "Even after making the required promises to the KCIA, I am still under house arrest. But I will do whatever I can, whenever possible, despite my promises, if only to assuage my guilty feelings for having made them."

All persons who signed the January 7 statement supporting the campaign for constitutional revision have reportedly been rigorously interrogated regarding their relations with Chang Joon Ha. Chang is a conscientious journalist respected as a patriot since he first fought against Japanese colonial rule over Korea. His eloquent call for revision of the Constitution marshaled the people's support. His unwavering, persistent struggles led him finally behind bars. He is quite different from some of the statement's signers who reversed their positions under pressure and wound up with shameful guilt feelings of being unworthy, unqualified as patriots, for having sought their own comfort instead.

Before the Special Military Tribunal that tried his case, Chang

Joon Ha boldly affirmed, "I will press for revision of the Constitution wherever I am; if it cannot be done on the outside, then I shall be quite at home doing it from inside prison."

Indicted by the same tribunal, his partner Paik Ki Wan, a student of Kim Ku (see p. 24) and a noted anti-Japanese activist, added his own challenge: "When spring comes to melt the ice, and the swallows that flew south return, then perhaps I shall sit there where you are now, and you [the military judges] will stand here to be judged, as I do today."

No one outside the immediate families was allowed into the courtroom. The rest of us waited for word of the court proceedings with feelings of intense bitterness. Twice recently Chang has coughed up blood, he suffers from sclerosis of the liver, and his back reportedly is now bothering him. But no one is permitted to take medicine to him. In his heart he must be recalling his eventful past, while waiting prayerfully for his life to end. He is in urgent need of help.

By now Park Chung Hee must regard everyone in the nation as either communist or enemy. The army, though his servant, is not trusted. Even in a time of martial law and military tribunals, it is not called into action. He is afraid it will overthrow him. How long can a state of martial law without an army be maintained? Some say that every precaution is being taken toward the students who return to the campuses this spring. . . .

The covert resistance of the people goes on at many levels. Currently there is extensive daily treatment of Solzhenitsyn in the newspapers. The January 31 *Dong-A Ilbo* daily ran an article also on Jan Palach, the Czechoslovak student who set fire to himself [on January 16, 1969; he died three days later in a Prague hospital] to protest the Soviet occupation of his country. It was a translation of an article that appeared originally in the London *Times* to commemorate the fifth anniversary of Jan's death. Subheadings in large type emphasized: "UNDERGROUND ACTIVITIES CONTINUE DESPITE WAVE OF ARRESTS" and "PILGRIMAGES MAKE 'MECCA' OF JAN'S GRAVE." These were examples of letting someone else's ex-

periences convey one's own feelings.

In February another small piece of resistance by literary people was reported. The first place winner of *Hyondae munhak* (Contemporary literature) magazine's nineteenth annual award for new novelists, Lee Jae Ha, turned down the award—the first time this has happened in Korean literary circles. “Besides my long-held feeling that literary awards in Korea often go to undeserving persons, there was the added problem of the many sufferings experienced recently by writers in Korea,” he explained in declining the award.

Sympathy and indignation felt toward “sufferings experienced recently by writers” are directed specifically to the five writers arrested on February 5 on charges of violating the Anti-Communist and National Security laws. In an incident said to have been uncovered on January 26 these five are charged with being contacted by North Korean operatives to engage in spy activities. Among the public no one believes this. One of the five, Lee Ho Chul, signed the November 5 (1973) statement by leading intellectuals on restoration of democracy. The five writers were all active in selecting and organizing the sixty-one writers to make the January 7 statement in favor of constitutional revision and restoration of democratic order. Forced to be more cautious after the January 8 Emergency Decrees, they have now been framed as “spies” in an effort to eliminate tomorrow's problems before they occur. The poet Kim Chi Ha, one of the sixty-one signers, was also a target of this frame-up, but he seems to have gone into hiding. Items confiscated as material evidence to support charges against the five writers include the following: inflammatory literature—thirty-seven copies of *Han Yang* magazine, two copies of *Minzoku no songen* (Dignity of the people), and one copy each of *Sekai* (World), *Gunzo* (Group), *Bungakkai* (Literary world), and *Kodama* (Echo); ¥25,330 in Japanese currency; one camera; one tape recorder; and one radio. This was the extent of “material evidence” against the writers. “One camera, one radio”—it is enough to make one burst out laughing. It is instructive, however, to quote the list of

charges made against Lee Ho Chul:

In November 1972, while attending a Pen Club Conference in Japan, he met Kim Ki Shin on seven occasions, was taken to dinner six times, received ¥500,000 (about \$1,600) for operating expenses, received photographs and school records of the Won San Middle School in the North (from which he graduated) and engaged in spy operations. He returned to South Korea on December 2 with instructions "to mobilize writers for literary activities dealing with problematic aspects of the present government in order to agitate the people." In December 1973 he wrote an inflammatory antigovernment article on the "self-immolation of textile worker Jeon Tae Il²⁷ of Seoul's Pyong Hwa market" for the *Hankuk Theological Seminary Review*. In a public forum over a Christian broadcasting network he made the criticism that "university professors are beginning to become as corrupt as the government officials already are." He was one of the organizers for the December 24 launching of the campaign office for constitutional revision. He was active as one of the ringleaders for the writers' statement of January 7 in support of the campaign for constitutional revision.²⁸

This is the first time prominent members of Korean society have been implicated outright as spies. Intellectuals are murmuring among themselves, is there no one to help him as Sakharov²⁹ helped Solzhenitsyn? Some say Lee Ho Chul is doomed because he cannot command much international support; then correct this view, saying that unless the struggle at home becomes fierce, there is little chance of mustering international support. I, for one, would like to appeal in the strongest terms for both domestic and international support for these arrested writers. The government charges them with being "spies" in order to prevent their case being handled as a problem of the freedom of expression in literature.

On February 7 six religious leaders³⁰ were given prison sentences

ranging from ten to fifteen years, including suspension of their civil rights for the duration of their prison terms, on charges of violating the Emergency Decrees. These harsh penalties were imposed merely for speaking out in favor of the restoration of a democratic system. The punishment meted out is said to be far more severe than that imposed during the period of Japanese rule. In that era persons convicted on similar charges may have drawn sentences of five or six months. Who is it that inflicts such harsh treatment on his own countrymen? "You must not think of Park Chung Hee as a normal man," advises one of my friends. According to one account, he was raised very strictly in the home of his older brother and his wife, and swore to seek revenge for his own harsh upbringing. He later entered a teachers' training school at government expense but, with his disposition, was dissatisfied and so transferred to the military academy of Japan's Manchurian army. Sometimes hardships in early life produce men of high character, but more often mean and cynical persons, suggests my friend. After Korea's liberation from Japan, Park Chung Hee tried for a time to be a communist, but instead betrayed his comrades as a turncoat. "His revenge complex now seems to be reaching its highest peak, and the people are extremely uneasy about having the nation's fate entrusted to his hands," my friend said, heaving a heavy sigh.

Without question, the Special Military Tribunal is a puppets' stage. At the prosecutorial hearing for the six pastors, the presiding judge queried, "Why, in difficult times like these, do pastors engage in political activities rather than evangelism?" Pastor Kim, who had ministered to people in the slums, countered by asking, "In difficult times like these, why have you and your associates abandoned the defense of the country to come here and judge us?" Outside at that very moment hundreds of young people and slumdweller encircled the court; the courtroom door was tightly closed. On suspicion of having mobilized this crowd, one pastor was arrested. Because Pastor Kim's wife agreed to an interview with a foreign correspondent, she was interrogated by the KCIA

for a full day and night. The sentence given Pastor Kim read in part:

To protect the vast majority of law-abiding religious people who live a proper religious life from the errors of these few religious leaders who, when they should take the initiative in obeying the Revitalization Constitution established by the authorities in accord with the common will of the people, have instead departed from their proper duties and defied constitutional order, we have no other course than to condemn them to punishment.

On five persons guilty only of speaking a good word for democracy, this kind of revenge is inflicted. With a February 8 newspaper reporting the February 7 judgment tucked under my arm, I met a certain foreign newsman. Glancing at the dejected look on my face, he commented that what surprised him on revisiting Seoul this time was the considerable vigor of those participating in the struggle here. No more but no less than that preceding the January 8 decrees, he felt. Discussing the circumstances of the judgment passed by the Special Military Tribunal, I shared my feelings toward the brave stance taken by those tried and convicted. Perhaps their courage derived from the thought that, even if they received fifteen-year terms, the Park regime would not last that long. But, more than that, I think their bravery is rooted in a deep love of country. In a deeper sense, then, the true judgment was passed on those henchmen of the Park regime sitting on the bench with stars pinned on their shoulders.

The foreign correspondent also mentioned the strange feeling he had this time when meeting top government officials and leaders of the ruling party. They repeat the government line faithfully, but somehow are at pains to indicate, cautiously but nonetheless frequently, that they themselves take a somewhat different view. Prime Minister Kim Jong Pil looked exhausted, the correspondent noted, and his face twitched nervously. This foreign friend sought to console me with the thought that spring is not really far off, by

hinting at better prospects. As a Tokyo-based correspondent, he confessed to a great love and respect for the Korean people, then added, "Once when I was going to see Mr. 'X' and gave his name to the taxi driver, the driver very kindly called ahead to confirm the address. It was clear that Mr. 'X' is the very symbol of resistance, and also that great expectations were felt toward me, that is, toward foreign reporters. I wonder if Japanese taxi drivers ever feel that way?" he mused.

After that, he showed great concern for Kim Dae Jung's present condition. Perhaps Kim is obsessed with fear, but he seems, this correspondent thought, quite restless to do something more for his colleagues in prison. In turn, I offered my own thoughts on the people's great respect for men like Chang Joon Ha who carry on the struggle even behind prison walls. When men suffer for fighting against powers and principalities they are viewed in Korea as national heroes. The KCIA insists that after his abduction from Japan Kim Dae Jung was given medical treatment upon arriving in Korea. Now some demagogues are claiming that at that time he actually received an injection that retarded his mental faculties. To this wild claim, the foreign correspondent retorted, "That is impossible, considering the very concise account of his experiences he was able to give upon reaching Seoul. What is possible, however, is that his present existence will leave some serious psychological scars."

The following day I happened to meet a friend who is much more directly involved in practical politics than I. His opinion was that Kim Dae Jung is in good shape and perhaps should be guarded more carefully, because Kim is determined not to lose his poise, but hopes to shake the Park regime's nerve by his own grim perseverance. He also added that it is very important to continue international efforts to help Kim Dae Jung get a chance to breathe some fresh air outside Korea. Though we should like to avoid it, we may have to give up a few martyrs; but particular care must be taken to see that Kim Dae Jung is not made an individual victim, however tragically heroic, without leaving behind resistance forces.

This is no time for indulging in sentimentality. We must look through and beyond the intrigues of the Park regime, and strive to think more realistically of the political options. And we must try not to lose Kim Dae Jung in the midst of the struggle. How we wish for our friends in Japan to understand this, though it may be useless to appeal now when public opinion there has drifted into silence. . . .

Days that reek of blood

(Feb. 16)

Persons in Seoul connected with Amnesty International are, of course, included among those whom the KCIA is instructed to apprehend. Newspaper cartoonists who poke too much fun at politics and society are also on the KCIA list. We may have reached the point where friend and foe alike are about exhausted. Thus, when even faint sounds of encouragement from overseas are heard, we are comforted. We wish to thank members of the Amnesty group in Germany for sending us the pamphlet titled "For the Freedom of the Korean People" by Bae Dong In and Choi Sun Taik in Cologne. In their twenty-six page essay they have championed our common struggle for revision of the Constitution, the political neutrality of the military, respect for the basic rights of the people, and the safeguarding of our human rights. We who are inside Korea know that we do not stand alone, and we pray for the continuation of this mutual support.

Again and again I am reminded these days of what a good thing it is to have poets among us. Steeped in allegory, their praises of freedom—and how many poems these days thirst after freedom!—do not yet offend the coarse sensibilities of the Park regime, though they fairly leap from the newspaper pages to resound in the people's hearts. Yesterday's paper carried a short poem titled "Memo to not forget" that goes like this:

I fear the night when you won't come back,
I fear the place you can't come back to,

I fear myself, living where you'll never come back,
But I shall never forget anything—
Just to help me remember
Let me call you by name,
O Freedom, my love!

This spirit is not, however, confined to poets. In the headings and subheadings given by the newspapers to the articles on Solzhenitsyn are expressed our own common aspirations: "SOLZHENITSYN'S TRAGEDY REFLECTS INTELLECTUALS' ACUTE FRUSTRATION," "CRY FOR TRUTH AND FREEDOM BETRAYED BY 'HOMELAND'," and "PROTEST OF A GREAT SPIRIT WITNESSES TO REALITY OF CRITICISM AND SUFFERING." What titles are given, we wonder, by Japanese journalists to their reports on Solzhenitsyn? Man has a tendency to see himself in the fate of others. Solzhenitsyn's spirit is alive in the winter of Park Chung Hee's Korea today, and tomorrow it could lead to days that reek of blood in the fight for freedom in this land. The fascist regime of Park Chung Hee, far more stupid, tyrannical and antihistorical than any in Russia, will exact a high toll in blood from the people when that time comes. Are we now approaching the beginning of that tragic time, or coming to its final climax? In this connection, we should have a look at the recent arrest and conviction of some Yonsei University students. First, here is the text of the military court's decision:

At the present time, which absolutely demands the realization of the nation's top priorities of security, prosperity, and peaceful unification in order to protect the people's right to survival, a time when students should devote themselves to studies based on a coherent view of the state, these students have, on the contrary, forgotten their proper duties, under the pretexts of empty foreign ideas and social involvement, and have violated the Emergency Decrees; and in so doing, the defendants have by their actions purposely interfered with the formation of national strength. This court sees little

to be gained by leniency; the cause of justice can be served only by severe punishment.

Sentences imposed on the students ranged from five to ten years in prison. What was their offense? Yonsei University had been closed down to prevent students from holding antigovernment rallies; when reopened, additional classes were scheduled to make up for the lost days. Under the circumstances, the students felt it impossible to take on the extra work. They put the issue to a vote by the student body and, on the basis of a clear majority, decided to boycott the supplementary classes. Almost all of the slightly more than one hundred students in Yonsei's Dental College were first arrested; those regarded as the most obstinate were taken to court. There was no investigation of the circumstances, nor was any evidence presented; they were simply arrested and disposed of in a week or so. Everything was handled in two court sessions: one for the prosecutor to make his charges, and another for the military judges to pass sentences—with no hearing for examination of the facts. For military men, the sooner the enemy is captured and annihilated, the better. Because the severity of the penalties to be imposed was settled in advance, the court proceedings were mere decoration. It was enough to assure the continued efficacy of government intimidation.

Within this outrageous and irresponsible court-martial, however, lay another problem. The formal decision of the court was directed to "seven Yonsei students," but only six are said to have appeared in court. Where is the missing student? According to one very reliable source, word has leaked out that the student's corpse was delivered to his home exactly one week after his arrest. Was the victim of a merciless killing convicted *in absentia*? His family is strictly confined to their home, which is placed under round-the-clock police guard. It is said that he was an only son, for whom the bereaved family cannot even cry alone in peace. He reportedly died from electrical torture, though the Park regime sticks by its story that the cause of his death was heart failure. How long must

this cruel order be endured?

The friend who passed this word to me added a thought of his own: "Maybe his death was a blunder, caused by unintentionally excessive torture, as some people think happened in the case of Professor Choi of Seoul National. More likely, though, it was simply made to look that way, whereas in fact one student, like one professor, was purposely murdered. The purpose was clearly to intimidate the people into silence. The KCIA agents are not such amateurs as to kill someone merely because they are clumsy."

It is really terrifying, and all Korea shudders at the thought of being exposed to such murderous madmen. Who dares say we must respect this government because it is our own? Who dares say it is a government with democratic aims? I can only think—and the thought bursts my breast—of the mother and father whose son is no longer here on this earth. True, Park's regime may fall when spring finally comes. These parents can only cry their hearts out, though, and wail, "What good is a new democratic order when our beloved son is already gone?" When they see the faces of other young people longing for the bright new day of restored democracy, these parents can only mourn for their lost son that much more. Was it not so in the wake of the April 19, 1960 student revolt? O God, is there no way to escape from this impending tragedy?

Let me conclude today's letter with one more item. Yesterday's news reported that "two South Korean fishing boats were attacked by a North Korean gunboat" on the open seas to the west. One vessel was sunk and the other damaged beyond repair. Not a few informed people received this report with some misgivings, given the generally held view that the Park regime desires nothing more than such "disturbances" with the North. It has always welcomed such international incidents as constituting good cause for its own rule. Exaggerated reports of crises in North-South relationships help the government to keep the military under tight rein and justify continued suppression of the people. Trumped-up charges against the North are thus widely regarded as the government's

last card to play in preserving itself. Plans are presently under way to stage public rallies throughout the country to protest this "North Korean assault." The object is to divert attention outside the country, away from internal suppression, away from rigid, brutal, dictatorial rule at home. Is an intentional reactionary move on to retract the public proclamation of July 4 (1972) favoring peaceful coexistence and eventual unification of Korea? How disgraceful!

Should the North decide to escalate this crisis, however, it will be widely interpreted among intellectuals here in the South as an attempt to undercut the struggle of the South Koreans for democracy. Thoughtful people here are turning a most distrustful eye toward the North, for fear it prefers to see the Park regime continue until it completely collapses under the weight of its own corruption. Should the Park regime, on the other hand, initiate any actions against the North, the North must expose the facts of such actions clearly and publicly in the interests of peace and of the Korean people. It is extremely important from now on that no nation and no individual become entangled in any devilish schemes perpetrated by the Park regime as it begins to draw its last breath. We plead also for strong vocal support for the proud but lonely life-and-death struggle waged here for the recovery of a democratic society.

MARCH 1974

Political symbolism

(Mar. 4)

The Special High Military Tribunal³¹ which opened on March 2 handed down sentences of fifteen years and ten months for Chang Joon Ha and twelve years for Paik Ki Wan. Sentences ranging from five to seven years were imposed on seven Yonsei University students. Meantime, an ordinary military court passed sentences of seven to ten years on three students of Seoul National University's Medical School. Chang Joon Ha's sentence included punishment for violation of the presidential election laws, for which he was already being prosecuted. The heavy judgment is thought to have reflected President Park's personal hatred for Chang, who had made a frontal attack on the president by directly opposing the October Revitalization. A highly respected man who once served as personal secretary to Kim Ku (head of the prewar Korean Provisional Government in China), Chang Joon Ha received the Magsaysay Award for journalism in recognition of his anti-Syngman Rhee criticisms in the magazine *Sasang-ge* (World of thought) of which he was the publisher. Previously he had been arrested and jailed for denouncing Park Chung Hee as *wang-cho*, a term similar to "Mafia boss."

Penalties imposed on Paik Ki Wan and the Yonsei students were slightly lighter than Chang's. In Paik Ki Wan's case, though, the impact was much the same; "twelve years" and "fifteen years" differ only superficially. Publicly everyone expressed the feeling that a prison term of about three years would have been enough—because in their hearts many believe victory over the present government forces will surely come by then. Even now, the con-

victed persons could obtain their release immediately if they would only say the magic formula of "support for Park Chung Hee." After all, this is nothing more than one act in a farcical comedy.

No thought is given to convening the presently recessed National Assembly. The chief concern is how to get through the potentially explosive months of April and May without calamity. Everything else is shoved aside. Hence, the heads of government agencies are herded into conferences almost daily. The "North Korean attack on our fishing boats" is just one more scene in this continuing drama, in the view of most of Seoul's citizenry. Such episodes are not unprecedented, but this is the first time the government has gone so far as to stage mass meetings all over the country. Vigorous efforts are being made to draw even the Christian churches into this nationwide performance. A zealous drive is on to isolate the church, student and underground leaders from the rest of their constituencies and from the people.

There is reason enough, of course, for employing so drastic a tactic. During a demonstration late last year at a certain women's university, for example, around five hundred students packed the school's auditorium for a sit-in and began a fast. Back in 1964, during similar protests against the ROK-Japan Normalization Treaty [concluded in 1965], the students' parents rushed to the campuses out of concern for their children's safety, to persuade them to relent and return home. This time, however, hardly a parent or relative showed up. On the contrary, parents and relatives were hoping that the students' action might do some good.

How sad it is for the people to be so tyrannized by a government ready to slap a fifteen-year prison term on anyone for a mere slip of the tongue, that their only hope is for students to take some action. The Korean universities will begin a new academic year this month, classes will be getting under way from the middle of the month [universities and schools in Korea begin the new academic year in March; the academic year at universities ends in December]. How will history judge a people so lacking in self-respect that

they look hopefully to the returning students and leave the country's destiny in their young hands? People in other countries throughout the world who have any concern for our country must be staring at us in disbelief, if not disdain.

The Capital Defense Garrison is reportedly undergoing rigorous training in methods of breaking up demonstrations. Arrests and torture of students continue. Reports of torture resulting in "fractured spines" and "broken legs" keep cropping up. The people's silence in the face of such violence grows increasingly sullen and serious. Though submission to violence seems the only way to stay alive, many people are beginning to feel self-hatred for their apparent cowardice. As one friend of mine observed, "Though the liquor tax goes up, liquor sales do not go down. No matter how drunk people get, not a word on politics is spoken. They're all scared stiff."

I have a feeling this is going to be a very unusual year, as if something were going to happen that will shake heaven and earth. The Koreans have a saying for times like this, when the innocent suffer and the tyrant brandishes his sword, "Heaven is not without feeling." While thoughts ran through my mind about all sorts of unexpected disasters that might occur, the temperature dropped to minus-ten degrees (centigrade), and the deepest snow for February since 1925 covered Korea. The suffering of our brothers in prison must have been all the more unbearable. One of them who appeared recently in court was much thinner than usual, and his face was extremely pale; he seemed on the verge of collapsing. I am afraid the wrath that burns in their hearts only adds to the damage done to their health. The wicked judge the righteous, and traitors crucify patriots. I never thought this could happen in our homeland once we gained our independence. . . .

But the young people seem to bear up remarkably well. Because the parents of some imprisoned girls promised to restrain them from participation in all political activities, the KCIA agreed to release them, but the girls refused to be party to such "shameful bargaining." Some of the young people are in prison for merely

possessing clippings from foreign newspapers. Another story tells of men students who stood up to the KCIA and said they would fight at the risk of their own lives if the women students were mistreated, and the KCIA was obliged to soften its methods. Still another report gives this exchange between the KCIA and one girl student:

KCIA: "Say you will fully support President Park!"

Girl: "Park? Who's he?"

Maybe she replied this way from sheer disgust. She was probably boiling over with indignation. Such feelings characterize the mood of the Korean people right now. Hence, every word they say inevitably has some political connotation, even everyday language. Surely all literature contains some condemnation of current conditions. A short story by a certain writer tells of a gifted scholar who went to live in America. After gaining recognition there, he began to yearn for his own country, so returned home. But life back home was so full of hardships that finally he departed again for America to stay permanently. His parting words, however, were that he might come home again if living conditions ever became satisfactory. The author's message is that the intellectual's responsibility is to make his stand in the midst of difficulty, not seek some safe place for himself. Battered by a demonic regime, the intellectual may find it almost impossible to love his own country when it oppresses him. Even so, he should try. Precisely because his own country is sick and suffering, he should never abandon it for personal safety and comfort. Therefore, the responsible intellectual cannot help but love his country, this writer contends. Likewise, literature must strive for the liberation of an enslaved land. For this purpose, literary works can be the vehicle for profound political symbolism. It was so during the Japanese occupation of Korea; consequently, the symbols of that era are frequently used today. They constitute a long tradition of our people.

The man who complains is taken to court,
His fate is a common graveyard.
The girl of age a prostitute becomes,
The able-bodied into forced labor go—
But there, afar, the dawn is breaking,
As madmen abandon their dreams.

This is a stanza from “Arirang,”³² one of the famous folk songs of the Japanese era. It depicts well a liberated land, the Korea of today. Still, we believe the dawn is breaking—and the madmen will get fifteen years if they say just one thing wrong. Believing in eventual victory amid trials and tribulations, the most profound symbolism often bursts forth here and there, even in the babbling of drunken fools.

The recent March 1st Festival commemorated the fifty-fifth anniversary of the inauguration of the Korean independence movement on March 1, 1919. In his memorial message on this occasion President Park touched on the problem of the “North Korean assault on our fishing boats” and issued a “stern warning” against future “provocations” which, he says, will not be tolerated. He then went on to say that the spirit of resistance exalted by the March 1st Movement to restore the nation’s independence must now be transformed into a constructive and creative desire to participate in and contribute to the positive progress of Korea today. The oppressors of Korea always fear March 1st and try to usurp its anniversary celebrations from the people. For this year’s celebration of March 1st many prominent figures had planned to issue an anti-Japanese declaration, but their plans fell through. The place they had chosen, the famous Pagoda Park where the first March 1st declaration was made, was surrounded beforehand by KCIA agents in black jackets. On that very day the newspapers carried a poem by a certain poet, which was an apt political symbol of the people’s true feelings about March 1st. Let us quote only the last stanza of that poem.

The protesting Soviet intellectuals cannot be silenced.

“Solzhenitsyn!” Homeless you may be,

But fight on, for the fatherland, and sow on this earth the seeds

Of burning justice, peace and liberty.

Who is this “Solzhenitsyn”? Why has the poet enclosed this name in quotation marks? And, to whom does “protesting Soviet intellectuals” refer? Perhaps I should keep quiet. There are violent people around who may, thanks to this letter, come to “understand” the rich political symbolism of literature, and thus trample it all under with their dirty feet. Poems like this may then disappear entirely from our newspapers. The longer times like these go on, the more our society is turned into a darkened theater where violence alone struts across the stage.

A time fulfilled

(Mar. 16)

Spring is coming, but at a most reluctant pace. It is the coldest March on record. The universities have reopened, but an uncanny silence pervades the campuses. The Park administration has surely devised some master plan, but so far there is no indication of what moves it will next make. There are rumors of a hired network of spies spread over all campuses. Of course, when the time is ripe for revolution, such things will not matter. President Park seems to be under severe psychological strain; he is not content unless he can praise the Revitalization and call for more obedience wherever he goes. At the graduation exercises of Seoul National University on February 26 he gave full vent to his irritation. After a childish display of self-praise in relation to the Revitalization, he finally turned to his main point:

I have heard that the capabilities of recent university graduates are declining, and that the cause of this trend is failure to complete the normal curriculum. . . . If there are any members of this graduating class who, on the pretext of involvement in

social realities, have turned their backs on serious study and wasted their precious university years on demonstrations, then today's graduation ceremony must be the occasion for them to turn over a new leaf in life.

The graduating class had no choice but to endure in pain and silence this condescending address by the nation's president. Every power in our country, including even power over the life and death of each citizen, is concentrated in the hands of this man. In the voice of a factory girl, though, we can sense a certain nobility not found among our rulers, as in the following "Letter to the Editor" quoted here exactly as it appeared in a newspaper.

I am a female worker at. . .Textile Company in Kwangju, receiving a monthly salary of 12,000 won (about \$25). The newly-appointed assistant director of our company harasses us so much that I can hardly bear to go to work, it is so miserable. He has switched new personnel to the posts of section chief, chief clerk and foreman, and they are all utterly malicious. As soon as he came here, this assistant director made all of us workers discard our old work shoes that were covered with dirt, oil and moisture, and put on white sneakers. He said this is to teach us good work habits. Despite the fact that none of us gets enough sleep because time is so scarce, another task is added—to wash our shoes everyday. He storms around the workrooms spouting abusive language, intimidating everyone; and if you make even one small mistake, his language is so violent it defies description. The resentment of the girl workers is on the verge of exploding. The handymen were fired, so we are required to report to work an hour earlier to do the cleaning—without extra pay, of course. We report to work at 5:00 A.M., and after a full workday must spend one hour cleaning up and still another hour for training. I am an oiler, and used to be responsible for thirty or forty machines, but now am assigned to one hundred machines. "If you don't like it, you can leave," we are told. Is there an

agency that can take into consideration the conditions of the three thousand workers, male and female, in this company?

This letter made me feel like I was looking at a miniature replica of all Korea. Lately there are signs that the government fears that the workers, especially those in Japanese enterprises, may pose some threat to its power. Accordingly, the Ministry of Labor undertook a survey of the Masan free export zone and has just published an interim report under the title "Substandard Working Conditions in Foreign-owned Enterprises." This refers, of course, to the Japanese companies in Masan. Vibrations, noise, gas fumes, lead dust, poor lighting, and excessive heat and humidity are among the factors responsible for a daily rate of forty persons medically treated for the industrial disabilities presented in this report. During the single month of February over one thousand workers received medical care for job-related illnesses. In some of the Japanese factories there are workers who handle molten iron at temperatures over 400 degrees centigrade but are not provided with heat-resistant uniforms and shoes. Some of us are currently discussing the possibility of asking a Japanese team to come and investigate industrial damage, or of asking the Japanese labor unions to take some action.

Are industrial enterprises like this everywhere? The *New York Times* indicates that the prospects for American and Japanese investments in Korea are gloomy. Reports from Japan also speak of shelving plans for hotels and other ventures. One American friend tells me that American executives in Korea are furious over such reports, for fear they might spoil relations with the Park administration. Like corporation executives anywhere, their main concern is, I suppose, to increase profits no matter what happens to Korea. Corporation abuses are so intimately linked with the oppressive Park regime that we wonder if the time will ever come when the strong bonds of this chain can be broken asunder. . . .

Meanwhile, what are we to do? The complaints of the people, though restrained, continue. One novelist recently wrote a story

about the forceful suppression of a news article. It was a fictional attack on the real situation of the press today. The newspaper had, despite stringent administrative controls, exposed the government's irresponsibility in a land reclamation project. In just one district on the southeast coast, government suspension of reclamation work at thirty-six locations and involving approximately 3,500 acres resulted in a great loss of funds, not to mention the local farmers' efforts. Tide-control embankments were poorly built and seldom mended; consequently, reclaimed lands eroded back into the sea. The farmers wept as they saw their plots washed away or as rice plants wilted due to the influx of sea water. This is the reality behind boasts about the New Village Movement, despite an announced budget of 91.5 billion won for the development of the Nakdong River basin alone. The people cannot help wondering what is going on. A certain news reporter, however, made a suggestive comment:

For the Nakdong River basin development, 54.2 billion won is needed—far more than is domestically available—so the plan is to secure foreign investments. It was the same with the New Village Movement; but whatever became of all the Japanese funds poured into that project? There is no way to get an accurate accounting of those funds, because the powers-that-be enforce silence on this, as on everything else.

Asking how these realities relate to one's own life is, for the serious-minded person, the same perhaps as asking how to live through the days of torture by the KCIA, the police and the Capital Defense Garrison. This very question was being discussed quite seriously one day by a group of young people. One of them, a Christian, related how he had borne up under torture by repeating the Lord's Prayer, which Jesus himself had taught his disciples. Another said he had managed to escape the worst by not putting up any strong resistance and lapsing into a near faint as soon as possible. If you are beaten with clubs, another youth advised, it is best to put up your hands immediately, as if to ward off the

blows, and get a bone in your hand broken right away, so that they will stop. These exchanges on tactics for resisting an oppressive regime were too much for me; I had to leave the room.

As I stepped outside, it was suddenly a different world—Seoul was quietly falling asleep under a clear night sky radiant with hosts of stars. Despite the violence and suffering hidden behind walls and doors, Korea outside looked strangely peaceful and calm. Soon the beauties of spring will be visited upon our land, and they will be all the more magnificent to behold because the cold, dark winter was so long.

When poets agonize

(Mar. 31)

That the Park government is no longer acceptable is now clear to the people, though what can be done about it is another question—which no one can answer with confidence. A related question on which opinions vary widely is whether or not the active struggle of late last year invited the imposition of the January 8 Emergency Decrees.

“The campaign for constitutional revision resulted in the January 8 decrees, thus undercutting the plan to build up a nationwide base during the lull in suppression.”

“The Park regime is bound to use that kind of violence anyway, so it is important to go as far as we can, even if it provokes over-reaction.”

“Fifteen-year sentences are imposed for the slightest criticism. The Park regime has therefore lost all support at home and abroad, and its image is way down. This will prove fatal to the regime.”

This is the kind of discussion that occurs when the newspapers are completely bridled, the popular leaders are arrested, jailed and tortured, and the whole resistance movement becomes exhausted. Is it not common sense in a revolutionary situation that the more revolutionary action is repeated, the more openly repressive and brutal state power becomes? And is this not, in turn, a sign that victory is not far off? The Park regime is trying to separate the

people from the revolutionary forces, but is it not true that the regime's escalation of violence drives the people and the resistance movement into bonds of inner solidarity that grow stronger and wider the worse things get?

At the present juncture, when the northern puppets' desire to invade the South is at its highest pitch, conduct which puts party interests first and stirs up the people by slandering the Emergency Decrees, exposes the security of the nation to grave dangers and aids the cause of the northern regime.

This is a line from the text of the twelve-to-fifteen-year sentences passed on five members of the opposition Democratic Unification Party. Nothing is revealed as to what they did or said. The purpose of this harsh judgment is merely to intimidate those who would say anything that does not "aid the cause of the Park regime." The brooding silence thickens daily.

That the pained silence also breeds intense bitterness and hatred among the people, Park Chung Hee surely knows. He is so thoroughly nihilistic as to believe he can handle the people's feelings simply by threat and torture. The people are alarmed that ruling powers can be so cynical and ruthless. Historically the Koreans have resigned themselves to the notion that governments do not generally work hard for the people's welfare. When the people do finally rise up, though, the rulers yield to them rather easily, if reluctantly. It was so with Syngman Rhee—an occasion still strong in the public memory. His case was quite typical of the people's traditional notion of rulers. In one well-remembered conversation that took place during the April 19 (1960) revolt, President Rhee asked, on hearing a gunshot, "What is the shooting for?" Someone explained, "The students are protesting against illegal elections," to which Rhee replied, "Then stop the shooting; people ought to rise up in protest against illegal elections."

Syngman Rhee left the presidency saying, "If it is the will of the people, I shall resign." This is the sort of posture on the part of rulers that the Korean people have experienced historically. How

greatly Park Chung Hee, Kim Jong Pil and Lee Hu Rak differ from this cherished image. If Park's Cabinet balks at any of his atrocious schemes, he simply glares at them and reiterates his strong "conviction." There is a word in the Korean language, *dok jong*, which can perhaps be rendered "poisonous species." In former times it was used to describe the Japanese, or more particularly the compulsion of Japanese soldiers to gain total victory or go down in "honorable death." It reminds me of something a friend said that reflected the present mood of the Koreans.

As a young man Park Chung Hee imbibed the Japanese spirit of total victory or "honorable death," along with the authoritarianism and lust for power and prestige of Confucian formalism. That is, if you can analyze Park in normal terms. . . . He will certainly be given a special place in Korean history, as an "emperor" belonging to a "poisonous species" which the rest of the Koreans cannot, in the last analysis, really understand.

On this word "emperor," another friend made this comment:

During the Yi dynasty (1392-1910) the Korean imperial court maintained a forum in which Confucian scholars could, in the form of "appeals," criticize both the policies and the conduct of the king and his chief officers of state, and not infrequently the rulers had to yield to criticisms. In Park's "Korean-style democracy" there is no such room for criticizing the rulers.

Some relief to this gloomy scene came in a recent heartwarming experience which I want to share here. Virgil Gheorghiu, a Rumanian Catholic priest self-exiled to France, and author of the novel *The Twenty-fifth Hour*, is presently visiting Korea. In response to an invitation, he flew in from Paris because, as he put it, he has a particular liking for Korea. The government is pleased to have such a well-known anticommunist guest. Before an audience of more than three thousand students at Ewha Women's University

on the 22nd, however, he created a wholly unanticipated sensation, which was picked up by the newspapers and treated in the same way as Solzhenitsyn, to pinpoint the current Korean situation. Headings for articles on Gheorghiu ran, for example, "SOCIETY SICK WHEN POETS SUFFER," "WRITERS RISK LIVES FOR TRUTH," "VIRTUOUS MAN PURSUES IDEALS THROUGH ORDEAL," and "SMALL PLANTS CLIMB TALL TREES TO GROW." It may make this letter too long, but I want to summarize the news accounts of his lecture because it made such a deep impression upon the Korean youth.

His opening words were: "Before those who suffer, anyone would take off his hat and pay his respects. No people on this earth suffer today as do the people of Korea. Therefore, I should like to begin my lecture by paying my sincere respects to the Korean people."

He sketched out his life as a priest, a poet, and as one who had himself been liberated from oppression. He explained how these experiences had been decisive in grounding his view of human existence in a deep compassion for those who suffer. Then he recalled how as a youth he entered military service to defend his country and was assigned to submarine duty. A white rabbit was put inside the submarine, he explained, to indicate any drop in oxygen supply; a white rabbit dies from lack of oxygen seven hours earlier than humans. This he learned on the first submarine to which he was assigned. On the second one he learned an even more startling truth.

On the next submarine my duty post was at the very bottom of the vessel. Here the men watched me as carefully as we had all watched the white rabbit on the previous submarine. If I did not eat well or complained of any discomfort, the other men took it as a sign of inadequate oxygen supply. It was then that I first learned what value poets have for the rest of mankind.

The words of the philosopher Bergson, "The existence of poets is useful for mankind," became very meaningful precisely in the

sense that "the poet's contribution to human life is to play the role of the white rabbit." "When poets agonize, then society is sick," he proclaimed. Moral indignation overflows in Korea today. Many conscientious poets, Christian leaders, intellectuals and students intentionally choose prison as the last step in their long trail of suffering. Far from fleeing the anguish and pain they suffer, they voluntarily elect to deepen it. But their agony is lost on those in the seats of power who refuse to see the signs of the times, blinded as they are by their own lust. Perhaps it is our common destiny to sink, one and all, in the same submarine. This single thought flooded the minds of all who sat listening to Gheorghiu's words. After fleeing the Russian zone, he had spent two years in an American army detention camp. From his own experience he could affirm, "Man was created to have dominion over the earth, and every single individual possesses an immortal life which cannot be replaced by anything." We too wanted to shout this aloud together, to make sure Park Chung Hee would hear it. In this country, where no shred of human rights remains, the complaints we lift up can be understood perhaps only by someone like this man who has suffered himself, whose only source of self-esteem is, as he himself said, "that I have written, and I have suffered."

I have heard that the way of the virtuous man has been handed down from olden days in Korea. If there is injustice in society, he must bring it to the king's attention, even at the risk of his own life. A great writer is one who risks everything to write; if what he writes is the truth, then he must write it, even in the face of death. . . .

A man of true character is like a candle flame, burning upward, reaching for heaven. In conclusion, let me remind you that, while trying to rectify the agonizing woes of this world, the man of virtue also reaches up for ideals and for eternal life.

What kinds of decisions were forged in the burning breasts of the young people who made their way home along darkened streets

that night? It is no accident that the three or four subsequent lectures of this distinguished guest never appeared again in such detail in the newspapers. To poets who can understand our sufferings and share with us the agonies of all mankind, we say, "May you live forever!"

APRIL 1974

National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students

(Apr. 10)

Today I have the unpleasant task of reporting some very distressing news. My pen holds back, but my mind is full of thoughts of duty and the reminder that this too is a mode of resistance.

Could it be because soldiers rule our land that Koreans are so often startled by surprise attacks? Just as I awoke on the morning of the 4th, the morning paper was delivered (the same news was broadcast by TV stations at 10:30 P.M. on the 3rd)—just one sheet, like a special newsheet or an advertisement flyer, emblazoned with big, black, foreboding headlines: “MAXIMUM DEATH PENALTY FOR CAMPUS DEMONSTRATORS” and “CAMPUSES FORCED TO CLOSE.” Interspersed among lengthy columns reporting President Park’s explanations were such headings as “EVIDENCE SEIZED ON ANTI-GOVERNMENT UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATION” and “COMMUNIST-DIRECTED GROUPS SCHEME TO DIVIDE PUBLIC OPINION.” The entire paper had the force of a direct threat. Worst of all was that day’s edition of *Seoul News* which is directly controlled by the government. A vertical headline³³ in large capitals read, “STUDENTS SUBJECT TO PENALTIES OF FIVE YEARS TO DEATH,” followed by horizontal ones announcing “UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATION IN FIRST STAGE OF UNITED FRONT FOR COMMUNIST-DOMINATED UNIFICATION” and “ALL ACTIVITIES RELATED TO DEMOCRATIC STUDENTS FEDERATION STOPPED.” Comments by a Blue House spokesman appeared under the heading “PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION PLANNED.”

In his interview President Park explained that he was “warned

that in certain corners of our society the communists recently have been carrying out the initial stage of illegal activities for a so-called united front of a communist-directed unification plan." The student actions of last fall were not labeled by such extreme terms, so this represents a major change in the government's position. Underground movement? What alternative was there, when even one "rumor" could bring down a fifteen-year sentence! Last fall's activities also began clandestinely, not openly and nicely as if under conditions of guaranteed freedom. Movements then were denounced as "indiscriminate" and "dangerous to national security," but today's charges are of "an underground organization aiming at a communist-dominated unification." The self-serving slogans of fascism have taken a much harder line.

What happened on April 3 that led to the proclamation that very night of the dreadful Emergency Decree No. 4?³⁴ Not a word of explanation was issued, only the bold claim that a scheme for a "people's revolution" had been crushed. Normally the investigative agencies issue a list of exaggerated charges when suppressing or arresting persons critical of the government, and frequently are embarrassed that the facts fall far short of their claims. The people usually do not, therefore, trust allegations made by these agencies. But this time the wild charges are made by the government—indeed, by the president himself—so naturally the people feel great consternation. Opposing the Park regime is now equated with aiming at a "people's revolution." Criticizing the Park government is judged as attempting to overthrow the Republic of Korea. The methods of repressing the unfortunate people have now become so outrageous that they tremble with fear when they merely hear the words "red" or "north." Even so, hardly anyone in this country believes this latest story.

What, in fact, then, is the "National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students," what did it do, if anything, and what sort of statement did it make? It was two or three days before I myself got any clarification of these questions, first by obtaining a copy of its "Declaration on the People, the Nation, and Democracy." It

is a refined, well-organized statement, that begins with these words:

A new day of victory for the people's rights is now dawning. Victimized by fear and exploitation, poverty and want, the people are now breaking the chains of despair and oppression, and are marching once more into the streets.

After a number of paragraphs recounting the tyranny of the Park regime and the consequent suffering of the Korean people, it concludes with the following six resolutions:

1. Reform the present economic policy that is solely for the amassing of wealth by the corrupt power elite, and bring immediately to judgment the ringleader of the corrupt and wealthy elite group.
2. Reduce extensively the taxes on citizens, and guarantee a minimum livelihood for the working masses who constitute the backbone of the nation's economy.
3. Abolish all unjust labor laws, and guarantee the freedom of the labor movement.
4. Release immediately all patriotic citizens imprisoned since the declaration of national emergency and the imposition of the January 8 Emergency Decrees, rescind the "Revitalization" reforms, and establish a truly democratic system.
5. Dissolve at once the Central Intelligence Agency which is the fountainhead of all political surveillance and violent suppression.
6. Sever the present antinational dependent economic relations, and establish a self-reliant economic system.

The text of this declaration in its entirety is powerful; yet, compared with those of last fall, is articulated with greater restraint and composure. Its final statement, "We solemnly declare before our people and our history that, to realize our goals, we are resolved to fight *to the last man and until the last minute*," closely resembles the famous declaration of independence of 1919. The drafters clearly were mindful of the earlier March 1st Movement in titling

this a "Declaration on the People, the Nation, and Democracy." In these and other places is seen not only the protesters' grasp of present realities but their historical consciousness as well.

Nowhere in this document, however, is there the slightest hint of a so-called united front for a "people's revolution." Is it not, instead, a plea for what almost all of the people in Korea (other than a handful of violent oppressors) earnestly desire from the bottom of their hearts? Is it not, indeed, a passionate, yet remarkably mature outpouring of patriotism?

The young people who brought this declaration to me are students hunted by the authorities, and thus have gone into hiding. They pressed me with this question: "Isn't it the most commonplace trick for those racketeers to label us 'red' simply because we tried to obstruct their own dirty dealings?" Without replying, I became absorbed in thought. Questions of my own raced through my mind: "Why was the communist label used this way? Do they really believe they can rely on promoting the simple equation of everything 'bad' with 'communism'? Is the North incapable of doing something new to help wipe away this unhealthy mass image in the South?"

Filling me in on the events of recent days, the young people added, "The Park regime thought that with last year's strengthening of its intelligence network, with suppression, arrests, torture and imprisonment, it had fully established the defense of its own power. Then everything began to fall apart as it came under attack by the people with ability to rise up despite the oppression. This time, too, we were better organized. But, far from considering effective remedies for the terrible national situation, and in complete disregard for the international impact it would have, the government turns to shouting 'communist,' 'people's revolution,' and 'death penalty.' It shows how mentally deranged Park Chung Hee really is. There probably will be more and more of this sort of overreaction."

Some elaboration of the comment about being better organized was needed. In mid-March the fuse began to sputter at the Hankuk

Theological Seminary in Seoul. Let us quote the opening paragraph of the declaration issued there in the name of the seminary's student association.

At this very moment, in the midst of enforced silence, our beloved sister Park Sang Hee and brother Park Ju Hwan are facing the crucial possibility of being punished by the courts of men; we, the students of Hankuk Theological Seminary, in addition to condemning the misguided political order, are indignant that the state authorities cannot put an end to the human suffering inflicted upon these two, and hereby declare our intentions and resolutions. For informing the churches and believers throughout the country in a letter dated January 27 of the circumstances related to the arrest of eleven religious leaders and for appealing for their release, our colleagues themselves have been imprisoned, though their appeal manifested the faithful brotherly love that cries out for only minimal human morality and conscience.

All 190 students of the Hankuk Theological Seminary signed this statement and demanded a response by the afternoon of March 18. Should no reply be forthcoming, they vowed to brush aside the "intimidating threats flung all about them" and prayed to God for strength "to give an example of Christian disciples ready to lay down their lives for friends," an example of "faith that lives by dying." These two theological students were part of a group of eight persons arrested for informing the churches in all of Korea about the pastors arrested and jailed for issuing a statement opposing the January 8 Emergency Decrees (see p. 98). For making a further statement on the two theological students, seven more students were arrested, and the student president of the seminary's student association went underground.

While this initial spark was still alive, a flame was kindled outside Seoul, at Kyongbuk University in Taegu. This is in the northern part of Kyongsang province, Park Chung Hee's native ground, and it is called the "inner citadel" of his power base. For

the fires of protest to erupt here makes Park Chung Hee tremble with fear and rage. The students distributed around five thousand copies of a "Declaration against dictatorship to save the country for democracy." The statement began with moving lines: "Spring has come to the mountains and fields, and the winter ice is all gone; why, then, does Korean society remain frozen?" It went on to a lengthy, scathing denunciation of the Park regime and Japan unmatched in previous statements. It ended with these crucial words:

Until the above demands are fulfilled, we are determined to struggle to the very end. We propose the formation of an organization for a democratic students' struggle and a people's joint struggle organization.

Later, this kind of appeal was to be regarded by the government as a forerunner of the so-called National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students. The flames of protest leaped next to Chonnam University in Kwangju of Chulla Namdo province, and then north on March 29 to Sokang University, a Catholic institution in Seoul, where three hundred students demonstrated on campus while twelve, three of them women, marched to the university's administrative building to present their six-point statement. It was the first student demonstration since the January 8 decrees. The opening paragraph of the statement said:

The dignity of man is reflected in the nature of his society. The basic principles of social intercourse are freedom and equality; freedom and equality are also the basic rights of man, and are the only means to realize truth and justice. Those in the past who launched the March 1st (1919) Movement and later the April 19 (1960) Revolt affirmed that a free democracy is a basic right of the people and for this cause nobly sacrificed their blood. But today the government, under the flowery slogan of "Revitalization," suppresses all the rights and freedom of the people and uses any and all means to engulf them in fear in order to prolong its own power.

The resolutions incorporated in this statement vary little from those of other statements, inasmuch as they all reflect the earnest desires of the people in general: "Rescind the Revitalization Constitution! Abolish comprador capital! Release the imprisoned students! Guarantee freedom of the press! Safeguard economic equality! Cancel the Emergency Decrees!"

Nervous in the extreme, the government has carried out a wave of "preventive arrests." Torture is used to extract confessions that the students are "spies for the North" and that they have even produced weapons. Many of the students, particularly the leaders, are herded into interrogation rooms of the KCIA's Namsan headquarters in Seoul. One person who on April 1 got a glimpse of one of the rooms reported seeing more than thirty students jammed into one small room. Similar protest activity flared briefly on April 1 at several high school campuses, but was quickly extinguished.

Then, on April 3 the first signal flashed at Seoul National University, among five hundred students of the Medical School. Then one hundred students of SNU's College of Liberal Arts and Sciences passed out copies of a statement and chanted anti-Park slogans. Some four hundred students assembled at Sung Kyun Kwan University. According to our sources, it was almost like an insurrection, as demonstrations and leaflet distribution spread to Korea University, Seoul Women's College, the Methodist Theological Seminary, and Myong Ji College. Amid shouts of "Down with fascist, dictatorial government!" the common "Declaration on the People, the Nation, and Democracy" was read aloud and handed out. Some leaflets were neat as though printed on a press, others appeared hastily scratched out and mimeographed. Some sheets were marked just "April," with no date, probably because of difficulties in arriving at a fixed date and time [some accounts say the date was originally set for April 8, but to gain momentum before the government cracked down, was advanced to the 3rd].

At SNU's College of Commerce the riot police broke into the campus and fell upon the students while they were yet in the middle of preparations, bloodying a few heads and destroying everything

in sight. The army and police occupied every campus, and all persons entering or leaving were carefully checked. A wave of arrests was mounted, and though some three hundred students were caught, many more went into seclusion.

Around noon of the 3rd, forty or more girl students from Ewha Women's University gathered in the Chong Kye Chon neighborhood, an area so crowded that it was easy to assemble unnoticed. Someone is said to have attempted suicide there, but the facts remain unclear. Some Ewha girls were taken to the police station but later released. At the very end of the "Declaration on the People, the Nation, and Democracy" was appended this notice:

All students and citizens in Seoul will gather at 2:00 P.M. today at the intersection of City Hall Plaza and Chong Kye Chon 5th Avenue.

When that time arrived, City Hall Plaza was packed with several thousands of people. But they were not the young people brimming with resolutions, but clenched-teeth, glaring-eyed police, KCIA agents, riot police and national guardsmen by the armored truck-loads, sent in to defend the Plaza. After a while about ten Ewha girls showed up, joined hands and walked back and forth briefly before disappearing. The bold mass rally in City Hall Plaza had fizzled. The curtain rang down on the mass uprising, reportedly involving some ten universities and three high schools, and the days of brutal retaliation began. Branding this movement as "communist," the government launched a sweeping hunt for "reds" marked by merciless torture. The youths whom I met gave this account:

The National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students is only a temporary name we made up to put at the end of our common declaration. There was no permanent organization at all; though it is true we communicated with each other about doing something together to commemorate April as the month of the (1960) revolt. For Christian students it was Passion Week, leading up to Easter, and for everybody a

splendid month anyway. We certainly never thought we could succeed against such tremendous and harsh odds. But we were resolved to demonstrate that the justice and conscience which will someday overcome the present violent oppression, no matter how harsh, are still alive. Park Chung Hee calls this a subversive underground organization for a people's revolution and communist-dominated unification operating under instructions from the North, and that evidence for this has been seized. That is a bald-faced lie, which no one believes. Does he really think he can salvage the situation with such transparent lies? He is really a weird character.

Presently the government, or rather Park Chung Hee himself, is scrounging about for every bit of dirt to justify and explain Emergency Decree No. 4, which orders campuses closed and students condemned to death. On every possible occasion he stresses the legality and propriety of this decree. At a joint session of the administration and the ruling party on April 4, he put it this way:

I have been told by many professors and other leaders of the academic community, personally and on informal occasions, that communist elements have for a long time been infiltrating the university campuses. There may be some people who mistakenly think that Emergency Decree No. 4 is merely an expedient for coping with a difficult situation on the campuses. Those who have carefully observed the so-called unification strategy and tactics of the communists in our country ever since our liberation in 1945 will understand what an illusory and groundless misconception that view is.

Park went on with an interminable explanation of the strategy and tactics of communist-inspired unification. Not a few people scoffed bitterly, "A turncoat from communism like Park must be well informed on such matters." In an address before national guardsmen on April 6 he gave instructions "to firmly crush all disturbances and dissension, because they invite invasion of the South." Did something special trouble him? To thirty guardsmen

invited to the Blue House he sharpened his emphasis: "The North Korean communists engage in military provocations whenever they have a chance, but because the government repeats its warnings so often, many people think nothing of it."

He himself has so annoyed the people with his constant cries of "Wolf! Wolf!" that he may be beginning to doubt the efficacy of this trick. On the other hand, can he possibly still believe that a lie told a hundred times will be believed? Again, on the 10th, before the graduating class of the Naval Academy he insisted, "Because the North's eagerness to invade the South is increasingly exposed, . . . we must maintain a military force sufficient to crush it in one stroke." He talks as if we were on the eve of an outbreak of hostilities.

Listening to the radio is even more disgusting. Programs supposedly beamed "at the North" are loaded with caustic admonitions to cease such fool's play as trying to incite a "people's revolution" by forming underground organizations. Such broadcasts are obviously beamed toward the South more than the North. What does the North think of them? Some comments made by a certain friend contained a perspective very close, I should think, to present realities.

The North surely regards them all as lies, so of course it is impossible to make any progress in the North-South dialogue. Still, the North probably does not want to deny any and all connection with resistance in the South; it has too much propaganda value in the North itself and elsewhere in the world. The Park regime is happy so long as it can continue using its scare tactics. So long as the North maintains a rigid position, the Park regime can brandish its sword freely at home. So long as the North refuses to yield, the Park regime can impose sacrifices on the people in the South.

Ever since Emergency Decree No. 4 was issued, the major newspapers have printed government announcements just as they are received—no commentaries, no editorials. Saying nothing may

well be the maximum course of resistance open to them at present.

Rebuked consciences

(Apr. 15)

Given President Park's nature, most people see little chance that he will retreat from the level of violent suppression already reached. If, on the other hand, the politics of terror is further escalated, then what? Several hundred young people have been sentenced to ten or fifteen years in prison, and some are threatened with execution; few believe this situation can go on indefinitely. Strong medicines have already been applied in excessive doses. Park Chung Hee increasingly exhibits symptoms of serious paranoia, and this disease appears more and more contagious among the entire power elite.

America has cautioned the Park regime about its announcements that a renewal of hostilities between North and South is imminent. Meanwhile, to bolster American support for the ROK, President Nixon has been invited to visit South Korea, but it is regarded as highly unlikely that he will come. When the U.S. aircraft carrier *Midway* arrived at Pusan on April 5, the commander was especially touched by the massive reception that greeted him. The newspapers reported him as saying it was the most lavish hospitality he had ever experienced. Though the *Midway's* docking at Pusan was intended as a constraint on the North, it is also interpreted here as a check on Park Chung Hee as well. Park is viewed as willing to do anything to retain power, even to the extreme of provoking trouble with the North, if necessary—in which case, what would the North do? Neither North nor South can be expected to exercise self-restraint like adults; both are concerned solely with strengthening their internal power in total disregard of the rest of the world.

In times like these, anguish overcomes a conscientious people, and persons who thirst after righteousness cannot help thinking of martyrdom. During the period of Japanese rule when there seemed to be no hope at all of freeing the fatherland from the heavy hand

of colonialism, the tragic but brave decision *to die* was taken by many patriotic Korean activists in exile. Terrorism was born, and many a patriot voluntarily chose this route for his own death. Terrorism and martyrdom may be the only two options left; the government is beginning to give heed to these possibilities. The students certainly did not, in their recent demonstrations, expect any immediate success, for that would have required, as happened on April 19, 1960, intervention by the army to stand with the people against the government. The Park regime is making every effort to avoid introducing the army into political affairs, preferring rather to increase the riot police and modernize their weapons and combat capabilities. If, however, the army will never support a revolution, the resistance movement may then be forced to turn to terrorism—because the limits of nonviolent guerrilla tactics have been reached.

During the chapel service at Ewha Women's University on April 3 a movie was shown. The girls took advantage of the darkness in the chapel to pass out copies of the common declaration, which the students began reading when the lights came on. Orders were hurriedly given to stop reading. Similar tactics were employed at Yonsei University on April 1, this time at a welcoming ceremony for new students. One upperclassman went to the rostrum and began reading the declaration. Surrounded by people trying to stop him, he drew a sword and threatened to commit suicide. He was eventually overpowered, but in the scuffle attempted to stab himself, though his sword slipped and cut only his arm. This scene seemed to symbolize the transition from guerrilla tactics to martyrdom, or perhaps a combination of the two. I have an eerie feeling that we are moving into a very sinister age.

Another person who claims to be a Christian but consistently downgrades Christianity is Korean Ambassador to the U.S. Hahm. He is presently devoting all his energies to convincing the major figures in the Nixon administration of the viability of Park Chung Hee's monstrous policies, of the imminent crisis in North-South relations, and the importance, of course, of the Park regime remaining in power. He also has the task of explaining that the

current resistance of the Korean people is manipulated by a small handful of "dissident groups" and "communist cells," and that critical elements among Korean Christians are heavily supported by American churches and believers.

The American who reported Hahm's activities to a friend of mine thinks the ambassador's remarks may have been meant as a warning to Korean Christians. My friend merely replied, "That is why it is an age for martyrs," and said nothing more. As during the time of Japanese rule, will Korean Christians again choose the way of suffering? Of course, those who do may be few, but they will surely have the genuine support of the vast majority of the people who lack the courage to choose that way themselves. The question is somewhat rhetorical, for we have in fact already entered such an age. Of those in prison, Christians are said to constitute the overwhelming majority. That is why slogans that equate "antigovernment" with "communist" are not convincing. The government tries to sidestep the issue by calling them "unwitting fellow-travelers."

While all public meetings planned last month to commemorate the March 1st Movement were squashed by the government, the youth of the churches reportedly managed to hold a memorial worship service, though the leaders were taken to the police station. On the other hand, the government demands that the churches hold a joint worship service to censure the North. Staged political rallies are commonplace, but a government-staged worship service has never happened, moaned one observer, in all the one hundred years' history of the Korean church. Invitations went out to all churches, with KCIA backing clearly indicated, but most churches resisted this intrusion in their affairs by simply not informing their members of the staged service. Nowadays pastors and lay people are subjected to house searches and in some instances are fired from their jobs. Of course, there are also groups like the promoters of EXPLO 74 who enjoy special government support. This particular group is sponsoring a mass rally in Seoul in August of this year, aiming at a great "explosion of the Holy Spirit," hence the

jazzy slogan "EXPLO 74." Among the advisors to this project is no less a figure than a former prime minister (Chung Il Kwon) and present speaker of the National Assembly. During the Korean War he was the army's chief of staff, and was the target of many charges of unjust practices. In 1970 when the notorious woman Chong In Suk, called "Korea's Keeler,"³⁵ was murdered by her brother, the prime minister, for reasons never clarified, created a public scandal by claiming her orphaned child as his own. Though a man of dubious moral character, he appealed to the public to put the matter entirely on his shoulders and then dismiss it from their minds. Needless to say, he is even now one of the main pillars of the Park regime.

The Christian who explained all this to me had a word also to share with Christians elsewhere: "We hear that many fine Christians from America and Japan will be coming to this big rally. They should know that while the Korean churches are being persecuted, the rally promoters deny any obstruction of worship by the Park regime, and that the promoters have no interest in those who languish in prison for calling for a restoration of democracy. Indeed, the promoters say, the Park government supports the churches; for example, the large plot of land for the rally hall was obtained by the chief organizer of EXPLO 74, Kim Joon Kon, through special government consideration, and there reportedly was support also for construction of his twelve-story building. . . . This Kim assures us that while the Korean government has its bad points, it also has its good points. He says that it is not good to carry faith into politics. Would he dare say it is a betrayal of faith to criticize politics that are unjust, or to resist what does not accord with one's conscience? Then he must have never laid eyes on that book so full of testimonies of faith leading to political resistance—the Old Testament."

I still cannot forget the indignation of this Christian friend. During the days of Japanese rule, or if he had lived in Germany under Hitler, would this same Kim Joon Kon have been able to recognize "both bad points and good points" and go right along

with these former tyrants too? Of course many Christians did, while those who resisted or fought against Hitler's massacre of the Jews or against Japan's imposition of Shinto worship on Koreans were few in number. But were not these small minorities right in what they did? Those well-meaning American and Japanese Christians who support the Park regime because it "graciously grants freedom of worship" thereby indirectly support its strategy of dividing the Korean churches. Hitler and the Japanese colonists were the lords and masters, "full of grace," over all the "unfaithful" whose worship and beliefs accorded fully with the wishes of these tyrants. . . . This Christian friend, who shared his thoughts with me, is he among the martyrs of this age who must tread the road of faith in loneliness? As our conversation ended, he grumbled, "I don't particularly regard myself as a 'grain of mustard seed,' but more as a handful of fertilizer. Our struggle with the demonic may end in defeat; but like inconspicuous fertilizer, our struggle will enrich the course of history."

I was moved to tears: Yes, the age of martyrs has really begun. Many, many people are making noble sacrifices. Some have given their lives. Even Emergency Decree No. 4 cannot stifle their resistance. Least of all can we bear having our friends and colleagues locked up in prison. Protest flared up again on April 11 at Chonnam University in Kwangju and twelve were arrested. Arrests also followed another attempt at demonstrating on Seou National's campus, but it is difficult to find out the details. The prospects are fearful, and the torture awesome. One girl student died from torture, according to widespread rumors.

Martyrs are already emerging, I think, from circumstances like these. On January 22 of this year a worker in Taegu committed suicide. He protested by taking his life. In April of last year he had lost three fingers on the job at a steel mill; in compensation he received a mere 50,000 won (about \$104). His medical expenses alone ran 150,000 won above this, so he sold his household goods to make up the deficit. To add insult to injury, he was also discharged. He appealed and eventually was reinstated by his com-

pany, only to be treated as a nuisance. Protest by death was the only option he saw left to himself.

Once in a while the same government that permits these conditions also engages in a display of "goodwill." In today's newspaper, for instance, appear reports of imprisonment of a hosiery company president and his plant manager, on charges of underpaying workers. After deductions for meals and the like, the workers received only 2,000 won (about \$4) per month for an eleven-hour workday. Some forty-seven percent of the workers in this plant received this same treatment. If a person with faith also has a conscience, and if the young people possess real patriotism, how can they do other than resist such conditions? Especially when homes in the quarters of the powerful are almost all equipped with escalators!

Here may be the place to introduce an event that happened on April 9. On the morning of that day at Seoul's largest church, the Yong Nak Presbyterian Church, a young member, Kim Hak Do, with his Bible and hymnal in hand, doused himself with paint thinner and committed suicide by setting himself aflame. The police later announced that one of Kim's friends revealed that he had been jilted by his girl friend. But reliable sources report that just before setting fire to himself, Kim shouted "Park Chung Hee, resign! Abolish the Revitalization system!" The police and the KCIA quickly cordoned off the church and ordered all persons present to keep quiet about what had happened. Fearing action the church might take, strict surveillance was initiated and a tax agent was sent to examine the church's accounts. These are all tactics commonly used against business firms, newspapers and other organizations. Inspection usually results in some trumped-up charges which are then dealt with leniently in return for a good conduct pledge. This is said to be the first time, though, that such tactics have been used against a church.

The most persistent view is that Kim Hak Do's death was a "political suicide." Over thirty persons gathered to mourn the loss of this church member in a simple funeral service. The deceased's older brother, a pastor, at the service disclaimed knowledge of his

dead brother's motives but asserted, "He tried to live patriotically and on behalf of the people. . . . I believe he will be resurrected in body and spirit, and in the future his motives will be fully clarified. Sensitive persons already know them." Many people take this to mean that the young man must have left behind some written record of his feelings. The Yong Nak Church office complied completely with the government's line in announcing that the deceased was not a Christian, his motives were unknown, and no suicide notes were left behind. Such an announcement provoked criticism that Yong Nak is a church of wealthy people aligned with the establishment, and cannot be expected to do anything courageous.

A certain American friend has confirmed the information I received that it was a "political suicide." He commented in passing that the young people whom he met were thinking that the struggle against the Park regime may be long and drawn out. He also reported these youth as saying, "It took nearly forty years to throw off the yoke of Japanese oppression. The Emergency Decrees could easily multiply to ten or so." Certainly optimism is unwarranted; it will be necessary to proceed with patience and wisdom. No one believes that the conditions of arrests and torture based on the emergency measures are anywhere near an end. Rather, the "people's struggle" and "erosion of the ruling group" have just begun, and we must all learn, therefore, to live in the midst of combined dread and hope. Any internal reform of the Park government is quite impossible. Violence will intensify until it finally reaches the point of explosion.

On this Easter morn (April 14) on which I write, participants in the sunrise service appear to have dropped to only one-third of last year's turnout, due to strict surveillance by the authorities. The worship service was also much shorter. It all reminds me of the unforgettable words spoken by a certain Christian only a few days ago.

I wonder if there are any changes in the North's posture toward Christianity? For the first time since 1945 the North

seems to have some appreciation for Korean Christianity, despite the long history of mutual hostility between them. The Christians do not yet feel, though, that the North is ready to enter into dialogue with Christian liberals. They feel that since 1945 the North has not discarded the mentality that led it to persecute and expel Christians. The North has, however, followed developments in Korean Christianity, and Korean Christians are watching for changes in the North, ready to enter into dialogue whenever possible. This is one positive historical advance that has come out of the struggle in the South. The evolving flexibility among Christians has the immediate effect, though, of confirming Park Chung Hee in his attempt to brand them as "red."

Is it not possible for the North to view the South not in terms of its own dogmas or ambitions, but rather to acknowledge realities and approach it on a basis of the people's aspirations for peace without violence? If the North can only meet Park Chung Hee's violence and deception with more of the same, then our despair only deepens, and the grievous situation of the people can never, it seems, be saved by the present political powers. A political force based on high ideals that can break out of the vicious circle of hostile North-South relations may be the only way to reconstruct history in accordance with the people's own consciousness. The Korean winter is long and severe, but this must not lead us to such pessimism as never to hope for spring. On the contrary, it must strengthen our determination to carry on the struggle.

MAY 1974

The survivors

(May 7)

In the wake of the April 3 student protests, countless young people have been arrested and tortured. This time it is the Army Security Command and the Capital Defense Garrison more than the KCIA who are handling the indescribable torture. The only problem is they have more victims than available interrogation rooms.

In Seoul's West Gate prison there are over three hundred students and leaders, but the prison officials do not even know their names—only the KCIA, the Army Security Command, and the Capital Defense Garrison know who they are. Most of them are hauled off and brutally abused, then released. The words of one youth, spoken just before all of this started, keep coming back to me. "Just thinking of the awful suppression bound to come makes me almost faint. But what's done is done; there's no choice but to meet them head on. Closing down the campuses, however, will not shut off the protests."

This young man is now in So Bing Go, where the Army Security Command is said to have ultramodern interrogation facilities. Victims are made to change into army fatigues, and then an interrogator in a blood-splattered uniform appears. What follows sometimes includes mental torture, like showing films of previous tortures. It is a military prison, and in it are found most of the leaders of the student associations of most universities. Those who have been arrested and tortured are the heroes of our time. The rest of us who survive on the outside are tormented by the thought that we are cowards. Those inside suffer physical abuse, but the rest of us, the survivors, become morally degraded. A quite different

opinion appeared, however, in a recent editorial, one portion of which I quote:

Spring has finally come, a season made for young people. It is a splendid time for youth to contemplate deeply on life, to study and cultivate themselves, indeed, to enjoy themselves to the fullest, as one pauses in the midst of a raging storm to savor a bit of sweet wine. This is the special privilege of those who are young and healthy.

Have the big shots at the newspapers no idea how deceiving their words are, how shameful their sermonizing and how vain their exhortations? Can they not hear the blood-curdling cries of the countless young people in the torture rooms? How utterly irresponsible to ignore them and simply exhort the rest of the youth to "enjoy themselves to the fullest." While the wails break forth from those physically suffering in prison, young consciences outside are rent by bitterness.

What kind of society is this, where pressures can be applied so that a mere section chief of the KCIA can, as happened not too long ago, receive a bank loan of 7.4 billion won (about \$15 million)? If a section chief wields that much power, how much more a bureau chief or a cabinet minister must have! The gossip column of one newspaper recently touched on this with open ridicule but covert pain: "The going rate for section chiefs is currently 7.4 billion; the rate jumps to 70 billion at the next level up. What, then, is the rate at the top?"

This bit of gossip appeared on the very day that the government's chief prosecutor, while vowing to track down the full story on the 7.4 billion won handout, actually clamped the lid on any further investigation. The 7.4 billion figure is said to be a low estimate; the actual amount is thought to have exceeded ten billion. Since the newspapers are completely controlled by the government, the question naturally arises as to why it allowed any report at all on this affair to be printed. To quote one reporter's opinion, "There are reasons, like the government's desire to divert public

attention to some big scandal so that the people will forget about the conscientious youth locked up in the torture cells. The government wants to demonstrate its zeal in cleaning up corruption.”

The fact that the people know that the government itself is the main source of graft and bribery is evaded. Indeed, such incidents disturb the authorities only when they get their fingers burned. The lunacy of the whole affair is revealed by the fact that the newsman who reported the incident has been arrested.

The chief prosecutor who first made such a fuss, and then had the news reporter arrested, is a man named Kim, who at the time was assistant director of the KCIA under then director Lee Hu Rak. Kim's successor, the present chief prosecutor, is also one of Lee Hu Rak's henchmen. The point is, then, that the KCIA section chief who engineered the 7.4 billion won handout was merely a loyal subordinate working hard for his superiors. The culprit is known as a Lee Hu Rak man. Even if arrested, he need not be distressed; he knows he will be let off soon with only the lightest punishment.

Prime Minister Kim Jong Pil, on the other hand, is said to have been delighted that one of Lee Hu Rak's men was caught and naturally approved of the incident being reported in the papers. The newspapers are currently controlled by the Ministry of Culture and Public Information, whose head is a protégé of Prime Minister Kim Jong Pil. Any ordinary person could, of course, draw a death sentence for spreading stories like that. The incident was most probably hushed up on orders from President Park himself, after Lee Hu Rak appealed for help. Park has full control over both Kim Jong Pil and Lee Hu Rak, though their internecine battle still rages. For the moment Kim Jong Pil has the upper hand and is zealous in trying to weed out Lee's men from the government. While he cannot yet get his hands on all of Lee's men, their position is considered quite precarious.

Actually there are much bigger scandals, like the 70 billion won loan made by yet another man named Park, the president of a large department store. It seems to have been part of his effort to buy

off a large Christian church with a gift of 30 million won (about \$62,500), an act that astonished the people but spurred the church's aged pastor into action. At a breakfast prayer meeting attended by President Park, this elderly "reverend" offered a now notorious prayer of thanksgiving: "We give you thanks, O Lord, for sending us this great and wise leader." Wherever this pastor goes he is more warmly received than even the prime minister.

"Big businessman" Park is on extremely intimate terms with President Park. Of businessman Park, another business executive observed to me: "I too have connections with the government—for which you have often scolded me—but if the present government ever falls, this Park character should be crucified in the middle of Main Street." There may be some reflection here of envy among businessmen, but the simple truth is that Korean society is run by such "able" men. Otherwise intelligent news executives exhort conscientious youth (who know all these stories anyway) to "devote themselves to their primary duty of learning"; do they not realize that by doing so they render themselves as insolent and shameless as President Park?

I am reminded of the apprehension expressed by one student, before April 3, that "the government's propaganda has deeply penetrated the public consciousness." Though recent student activity has been labeled "an organized communist insurrection," I doubt that anyone really believes this is true. But mobilizing all the media may possibly brainwash the people into believing there was some degree of "red" influence at work. Certainly the news commentaries and editorials this time parrot the government line, and scholars who specialize on the North have been mobilized by one newspaper to produce a paper on "The Communist Strategy for Unification." This paper is meant to provide some "academic" backing to the charges of "red influence" that Park Chung Hee tries to pin on the students' protests. It is amazing how this country overflows with fabrications designed to protect and prolong the present regime.

At the time of the famous "spring in Prague" the people in

Czechoslovakia reportedly developed great skill in reading the news under suppressive conditions. But we wonder if that sort of marginal option still remains in the Korean press under the present dictatorship, and if everything is not, rather, geared to a dreadful conspiracy to use the mass media instead to anesthetize the people. Despite increasing fears that this is true, we sometimes run across impressive items in unobtrusive corners of the newspapers, as though the censors had unconsciously passed over them.

This certainly seemed to be the case regarding one newspaper's project to commemorate the April 19 (1960) student revolt. To memorialize the April 19 movement is to celebrate freedom and democracy, and thus indirectly to attack the corrupt Park dictatorship. The Park regime is fully aware of this. But the date is a symbol of justice and patriotism for all of the Korean people, and everyone in Korea continues to sing the praises of April 19. Even the Park government cannot eradicate all commemoration of this famous event, and that must be why it sponsored a memorial service at the cemetery in Su Yu Ri for those who died in the April 19 revolt. Its intent, of course, was to usurp the people's spontaneous honoring of that day, as was evident in the spectacle of police searching students who attended the government-sponsored memorial service. In the midst of this rather strained atmosphere, the newspaper's plan to honor the heroic deeds of April 19 took the form of a bicycle marathon along a countrywide course marked by all the major sites held sacred in the public memory of that day. The paper's column on the memorial marathon moved many youth to tears.

The marathon course took cyclists to place after place where the "living spirit of democracy" is enshrined . . . to Taegu where students on February 28 (1960) refused to obey an order to attend school on Sunday,³⁶ and on to Masan on the southern coast where a great crowd assembled at the tower commemorating the March 15 uprising and waved as the cyclists passed by.

Cutting across the Honam district on the southern coast they passed Kwangju, famous for its "student incident,"³⁷ and moved on to Namwon and the grave of Kim Ju Yol,³⁸ "the flower of March 15." An irrepressible desire to lay flowers at his grave welled up within them. . . .

Come to think of it, fourteen years have slipped by since then. The battle cries that erupted like a volcano on that day to overthrow a dictator still ring in our ears. . . . The "poetic justice" realized on that day is still vivid in our memory. "Don't give up hope! The voices calling for democracy rise up from the depths of life itself. The rocky lid which had firmly contained that pillar of fire has been blown sky high." This song of praise to Cho Ji Hoon for his "exploding battle cry" will never die out. It was truly a day of poetic victory.

Fourteen years have passed since the poet Park Mok Wol felt forced to sing out, "Are you a poet, my friend, still able to behold purely the beauties of nature?" What thoughts come today from the 195 souls asleep in the Su Yu Dong graveyard? Is there not some word for us that rises now from their peaceful repose? Do not the flowers we lay on their graves bring forth a reproving sigh that searches out the defiled corners of our hearts? When will the day come when we cease to draw back shamefully before their triumphant sacrifices?

Beneath enforced silence, the fervent aspirations of the people pound in their hearts. Beautiful people are sent away to die, and courageous men of conscience languish in prison, while we who remain outside shamelessly seek to prolong our lives in the midst of violent oppression. "Throughout our long history it has been the finest, the bravest, the wisest, and the most conscientious who are lost in the battle against oppressive power, while the meanest and most selfish, whose consciences are rotten, manage to survive—especially among the leaders of this country who continue to oppress the people," wailed one young person scornfully. To his outcry, tinged with self-scorn, I could say nothing. For it is true

that within the storm raging throughout this land we have forfeited our finest young people to those dreadful torture rooms.

Masters of “ingenuity”

(May 7)

Young people are taken in by the police and KCIA almost daily, without warrant, as Emergency Decree No. 4 “stipulates.” Some come back, and some do not. Those who are released are forced under threats and torture to sign pledges never again to participate in protest activity. That they also promise never to breathe a word about the treatment they received from the KCIA goes without saying. Thus, even after release they carry a terrible burden of shame.

To mollify the atmosphere of pessimism, one university planned its annual spring celebration as a “Festival of Fools,” featuring debates on “Jesus versus Satan.” With each bit of news received on the students in prison, the students outside feel increasingly guilty.

“Asked about the charge that they tried to set up a government of workers and peasants, the students shot back the simple reply that it is false, and for that they were severely beaten.”

“Everyone is personally taking responsibility in order to shield friends.”

“‘The strong are getting stronger, and the weak weaker,’ claimed one of the leaders boldly.”

“Professor ‘X’ was pressured to restrain students from political involvement, but he countered that students are adults and can decide for themselves. He added that he was compelled to educate them as human beings, as Koreans.”

Moved as they were by these reports, more horrible ones were yet to come.

“Some have been sentenced to death, we hear. Cardinal Stephen Kim Su Hwan closed his Easter message with this question in English: ‘What can we say about the death of a twenty-five year old girl?’ This referred to the girl friend of a Seoul National University student hunted by the authorities. Though vigorously

interrogated, she knew nothing in fact of the wanted student's whereabouts, so could not answer the questions. She was brutally tortured and then killed."

"No, she was stripped naked, molested, and murdered. Interrogators loyal to the regime are not censured for raping women, because this too is considered one means in the interrogation process."

"A physician is present in the interrogation rooms. But not to keep the victims from dying. He's there to see that no visible marks of torture remain. He advises on torture that leaves only internal injury, from which the victims may later die. They couldn't care less if the prisoners die a year or two later."

"The KCIA made dozens of students kneel on chairs facing the wall, then jabbed guns in their backs so that they could not turn around and would not doze off. In time the students simply collapsed."

"Even if no one is in the interrogation room when you enter, clubs spring automatically from all directions and beat you."

The Park regime has acquired an ultramodern look in the politics of terror and torture. We want somehow to get out an appeal to the whole world on this brutality. Many have succumbed under electric torture due to their human weakness, but is it fair to call them "traitors"? It would seem especially unfair to make this accusation against those who never actually participated in resistance movements. In an "age of torture technology" it is necessary to cultivate forgiveness and magnanimity. If someone succumbs due to his human frailty, the only alternative is to forgive and strengthen him anew. Of course, there are some who survive without ever giving in to torture.

The people's reaction to this hideous situation often erupts in abnormal ways. Some minor irritation on a public bus, for example, may provoke an excessive outburst of anger and some ferocious bellowing about "this lousy world!" A long-submissive people tend to explode in such tangential ways. Another such outlet is sarcasm, like "That man' knows all about it and will

take care of everything, so don't worry." And the words "death penalty" have become unduly popular jargon. One example appeared in a newspaper essay on middle school students discussing a teacher who had graduated from Seoul National University. "Don't worry, he's an SNU graduate." "Oh yeah? That's the best. Next time he may get the death penalty." "Death penalty? Hey, that's great!" The writer had no idea of what it all meant.

The merest criticism or rumor about the government is considered grounds for a death sentence, so naturally it is inevitable that "death penalty" seeps into all kinds of conversation. The truth is, though, that ninety percent of the people are always painfully conscious of possibly exposing themselves to this extreme danger, and yet they still continue to exchange rumors. The longer the Park regime lasts, the more such "rumormongers" will increase—and the gravity of their "crimes" will escalate. The military prison in Korea is not limited to suspects held in jail for trial by the military courts; the whole of Korean society has been turned into a military prison, with all of the people open to possible criminal charges.

There are no laws on the books authorizing trial and imprisonment of civilians by military courts (see n. 31). In the absence of well-defined legal controls, the military tribunals have become "studios of ingenuity." Fabricated charges are a specialty, especially for producing "communists." Among the victims, Christians are overwhelmingly numerous. Some of their program funds appear to have come largely from outside Christian sources, while other funds sent by outside sources could not be accepted in their campaign because they are easily labeled as coming "from the North." Still, it is questionable if the "red" charges against the Christians can be made to stick. Joking among students often goes like this: "Hey! Let's go to church and then hold a demo." "If you don't go to church, you'll be called a commie."

Until now it has been common to brand as "communist" any victim who was not a Christian, but even Christians are no longer exempt from this charge. A number of pastors and evangelists have

had this label pinned on them, usually with the explanation that they were "unwittingly" drawn into communist schemes and activities. Previously it was possible for Christians to act from positions in the strongholds of the churches, but it now is clear that they are no longer safe from the universally imposed formula of "anti-Park" equals "spy for the North," or from accusations of "scheming to overthrow the Republic of Korea on instructions from the North."

Though the Christian churches may be so viewed by the Park regime, the people do not accept such a simplistic view. The people will continue to place high hopes in the churches. When students at the Catholic Sokang University were arrested, American priests went on a fast. On April 15 some four hundred leaflets calling for Park Chung Hee's resignation were distributed at the Protestant Yonsei University, and a small demonstration followed on the next day. When some of the students were arrested while attending classes, the professors protested bitterly against this flagrant violation of the university's lecture rooms.

President Park recently invited twelve or thirteen hawkish American Congressmen to Korea, hoping they would come to an understanding of, and express support for, his administration. He spread out before them his prize political weapons: "communist infiltration," "spies for the North," and the "threat of military aggression from the North." He also indulged in some chatter about the necessity for restricting democracy in Korea because of the present emergencies, though he fairly burned with desire to develop a broader system of democracy in the future when conditions permit. The entire performance failed. The American politicians posed blunt questions about where his administration is headed, throwing the leaders of the Park regime into an embarrassing position. One of the Americans in particular pointed out that the largely Christian population of America could hardly be expected to remain silent while their fellow Christians in Korea are being persecuted. Thus it is that the Park regime is so eager to demonstrate abroad the freedom and progress of Christianity in

Korea. The zeal to welcome "the faithful" from America and Japan to EXPLO 74 roots in this diplomatic necessity. From America six thousand participants are expected, and from Japan three thousand. One church leader sees the prospects of the Park government's policy toward the Christian churches this way:

They will try to divide the churches, and they will try to buy off the more prominent members. Then they will try to isolate from the majority of believers those who insist that true faith leads to political involvement. Finally, they will try to cut the ties that bind the Korean churches to the churches in the rest of the world.

This reminds me of the response of a certain foreigner who was urged by a government official to "understand" (i.e., agree with) the ROK position. The foreigner replied simply, "When I go back home, I intend to tell only the truth." In his heart he pondered the words of Cardinal Kim: "Pray for us, and help others get objective information on Korea." Rupturing the lines of moral support from abroad is, quite candidly, the uppermost concern of the Park government. It is also moral judgment that the government most fears at home. This is because Park Chung Hee himself knows how much the iniquity of his own regime has become centered in violent measures.

It is in this context that we must understand the arrest on May 24 of the two Japanese [Hayakawa Yoshiharu, age 37, lecturer at a junior college, and Tachikawa Masaki, age 27, student at Waseda University and a free-lance writer]. More than anything else, their arrest is intended as an attack on long-smoldering anti-Park criticism in Japan, to take revenge on the persons and media which have denounced the Park government, and to prevent such efforts in the future. To tell the truth, the KCIA and the Ministry of Culture and Public Information have gone to extraordinary lengths to discover the sources of these *Letters from South Korea* and to suppress them. From time to time I am told by friends of these frenetic efforts (and there is increasing reason to fear we may be

found out). Because it succeeded once in squelching the (Japanese) *Asahi Shinbun* daily, the government thought it had fastened the lid on the Japanese mass media. To some extent, its reasoning was justified. But the Park government is still extremely irritated that the Japanese media cannot be completely muzzled.

There is not the slightest chance, of course, that the Park regime would think to change its evil ways. It focuses instead on rascals who dare to challenge it, expecting to sail smoothly along if only all voices of criticism and opposition can be stilled. The government claims, for instance, that the "Red Army" in Japan has joined forces with Korean students to overthrow the present order. Not that this is totally impossible, but the government's claim aims merely at isolating the two Japanese citizens from their fellow countrymen. The Japanese government most probably feels that these two have caused a lot of trouble and embarrassment; certainly nothing like this must be allowed to interfere with its top priority of maintaining good business relations with South Korea. The Japanese government may also feel that those Japanese who show some sympathy for democratic forces in Korea are foolish, if not traitorous. At the very least, the Japanese political forces who communicate and cooperate with the ROK government and especially its KCIA must feel that way. As a certain KCIA agent confided to me, "For all I know, there may not have been any formal communication with the Japanese government regarding this incident. But I do know we are regularly in touch with our usual contacts over there. After all, that's how Japanese politics works."

As far as the Korean people are concerned, they have come to despise Japan for its part in the arrests of the two Japanese nationals. The image first gained from the Kim Dae Jung case, from the cosmetic efforts made to patch up ROK-Japan relations and Japan's obvious lack of diplomatic backbone, has intensified. In Japanese eyes, are there no human rights, not even their own? Are there only corporate profits?

Suppose, as is charged, that these two Japanese did offer something, whether money or materials, to Korean students—it must

have been a trap to snare the two Japanese. If anyone did receive money from them, it was most likely students hired by the KCIA. This spring the KCIA has been making meticulous preparations to brand any student flare-ups as "red." The Korean students are more or less aware of the preparations and therefore would never accept money from an unknown source, much less a Japanese one. The KCIA claims one hundred thousand leaflets were prepared, but the students report that they can print only about three hundred sheets at a time on their manual mimeograph.³⁹ The leaflets had unusually wild "red" slogans and were distributed by unknown groups of students. If, as the authorities say, the leaflets were openly distributed at high schools, then it was definitely done by unknown groups. The known Korean student groups have long since been forced to do what they can underground. They wonder how anyone could have openly circulated such strongly antigovernment handbills. Many high school students were utterly baffled and embarrassed to be handed these leaflets right in front of police boxes or even in the presence of police officers.

This is the nature of the "communist insurrection" trumpeted about by the Park regime. The two Japanese citizens were woven into this scheme, along with others accused of advocating "bad" ideas in the past. The scenario climaxed with the branding of the two Japanese as revolutionaries trying to "overthrow Park" in collusion with the international communist line. It was nothing more than prerecorded propaganda. Lately there have been a number of trumped-up "spy incidents," of which the details are far from clear, that are claimed to be part of a larger movement under orders from the North to overthrow South Korea. So far no report on the April 3 activities has been issued; it is doubtless delayed by "ingenious efforts" to link the early April events to some of these supposed "spy incidents." How are foreigners, much less the Korean people, to gain any objective and reliable information from this whirlwind of fabrications? All statements other than those issued by the Park regime itself have fallen under the awesome

threat of the death penalty. Perhaps only God knows what is really going on.

Given these conditions, the students certainly do not have the power to topple the Park government. It already realizes that they constitute no real threat, that the subjugation of students has been completed. The Christians are still a bother, because some are willing to sacrifice themselves. But if the majority of the churches can be silenced, some authorities callously boast, then a few martyrs will be laughingly dismissed as fools. That leaves only the critical voices overseas to worry about. But is the situation really so firmly under control? Even ingenious experts make mistakes. Park Chung Hee particularly must be on guard, for fear that his closest associates cannot be trusted. And the age of martyrs is going to continue to compound the vexation of this foolish tyrant.

Many persons are still being secretly arrested, and many students have gone completely underground. Monetary rewards have been put on the heads of some Ewha University girls. One midnight raid was made on a girls' dormitory, but no one was caught. Searches of some foreigners' homes have been carried out. Early one morning a mile-square area in the crowded Chong Kye Chon slum district was cordoned off by local militia and an extensive investigation made in search of some students; fortunately this hunt proved fruitless.

In another curious episode, a certain student, having decided to turn himself in to the authorities, climbed into a taxi with the professor in charge of student affairs on his campus. On the way, the taxi was stopped and surrounded by agents of the KCIA, the Army Security Command, and the police, who proceeded to engage in a mighty argument over which agency would take this prize catch in for arrest. It was a vulgar scene, but this sort of debasement of the people is what the Park regime intends. Unless the people are reduced to absurdity, they will not remain submissive to its control. The lofty spirit of resistance to this process of dehumanization, though, still hovers over and touches much of human life around us. One professor reflected this spirit in a

strange way:

Suppose a student comes to me for counseling and says that he must engage in resistance whatever the consequences. Not only must I make every effort to dissuade him from such thoughts, I must also report him secretly to the authorities. Otherwise, I may be sentenced to death. For all I know, the student may be a KCIA agent. It is totally impossible to be an educator under these conditions.

The depths of silence

(May 19)

By any measure, it is a gross overstatement to charge that the April 3 protests sought to “establish a government of workers and peasants.” The ROK army of 600,000 troops and the presence of the U.S. military alone preclude any chance of workers and peasants seizing power with their bare hands. Ours is not so simple a society.

Certainly no one is so simple-minded as to think that the students, even with the support of part of the population, could take over the government. A sense of pathos filled the students on that day. If it can be said that they really hoped to achieve anything at all, it was at most a proclamation of martial law. Then, if some conscientious elements in the army so chose, as on April 19 in 1960, they might turn their weapons away from the people and force Park Chung Hee out of office. This is virtually the only possibility that the Korean people envisage at present. And nobody knows this better than the Park regime. Thus, the army is heavily deployed in the area from Seoul north to the truce line for national defense and in the immediate vicinity of the President’s official residence for his personal protection. In enforcing martial law, the government made every effort to avoid having the army occupy cities and villages, hoping to rely on presidential emergency measures backed by the KCIA and police.

In the trumped-up charges directed toward the April 3 participants, no mention at all was made of possible army intervention to

topple the Park government, even though that is the earnest wish of the Korean people. On the contrary, the anticommunist sentiments of the army and the people were cleverly evoked by the "worker-peasant" scare. As a result of the Korean War experience, the people acquired an unfortunate and dehumanizing habit of tolerating any disregard of human rights if the victim is called "communist." It is the savage attitude of showing no pity for an enemy. Thus, anticommunist education is intensified—but used increasingly to suppress our own people. An American friend related to me an interesting instance of an attempt to justify this peculiar situation. It seems that ROK Ambassador to the U.S. Hahm delivered an address designed to show that to counter the communist threat Korea has no choice other than the present government posture. For Americans with only a naive anticommunist consciousness, this argument usually suffices. The subsequent discussion happened, however, to touch on the ROK army and its role in relation to the Emergency Decrees. Ambassador Hahm then made this direct statement:

The army is one reason the decrees were proclaimed! There is no telling what sort of adverse effects might have ensued if the army had assumed direct responsibility for enforcing martial law. The U.S., as you know, is pressing our government to reduce the ROK armed forces by 100,000 men, but the army will not agree to this.

An American participant in the discussion offered this rebuttal:

The ambassador has stressed security based on law and order, yet also says that the students and the people cannot be controlled without introducing emergency measures which impose the death penalty on persons who make even the slightest criticism of the government. Moreover, we had always thought that the Park regime had firm control over the ROK army, but you suggest that the government is in trouble because that control is not complete. In the event, therefore, of a real emergency, by what means would the Park

government maintain law and order, and how would it overcome the crisis? Would it, for instance, appeal to the Japanese army to come and take responsibility?

"That is not what I meant at all," blurted the ambassador in confused embarrassment. It is precisely this sort of discomfiture that gnaws at the entrails of the authoritarian Park government. And this is the reason for its frenetic creation of a surfeit of "spies" and for the formula of "anticommunist" equals "pro-Park," a formula that has evoked the sarcastic saying among the people that "mouthing anticommunist slogans is like swallowing government-issued rat poison." On the 14th another "self-confessed spy" case was sensationally reported. In a press interview the KCIA had this poor fellow make the following statements:

The northern puppets changed their strategy so as to stir up anti-Japanese feelings to advance their formation of a united front, develop an organized nationwide people's movement, and thereby throw society into chaos in order to overthrow the ROK government. The northern puppets hoped to use the National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students for a revolutionary struggle like the April 19 revolt, but suffered a disappointing defeat. In addition to failure in rallying students, workers, peasants and capitalists among the people in the South, the puppets see this failure as resulting from use of political slogans like "Overthrow the government" and "Down with the Revitalization system." They therefore have issued instructions to shift to emphases like "Release the imprisoned students" and "Autonomy and freedom for the campuses."

Here, too, there is no reference whatsoever to the army. The mouth of a "spy for the North" is used not only to brand all recent student activities as North-directed but to say that anti-Japanese activities are also instigated by the North. This co-opted medium is used further to convince us that it is the North which proposes the milder emphases on "release of imprisoned students"

and "academic freedom" so as to steer clear of the death-penalty threat of the Emergency Decrees. Activities other than what the Park regime itself commands are all attributed to machinations by the North. It is all, of course, an intrigue masterminded by the Park regime.

In its own way, the Christian church has also been forced to deal with the problem of anti-Japanese sentiment. The protest by church women against discriminatory hiring practices of Hitachi Ltd. company (Japan) occurred in that context; it was an outpouring of maternal affection toward Korean youth in Japan who experience great difficulties in securing employment.⁴⁰ The issue was taken up widely by the YWCA, the Church Women United, and the League of Women Voters, not only in Seoul but in Pusan, Kwangju, and other provincial centers as well. Then the KCIA stepped in to claim, through its "spy for the North," that anti-Japanese sentiments were "instigated by the North" and molded into a "nationwide movement" in order to disrupt society and overthrow the government. Privately the KCIA made contact with the church women, but could not convince them that anti-Japanese feelings were "inspired by the North"; it simply requested the women to convey any complaints against Hitachi through government channels. Not long ago I had an opportunity to raise a number of questions with some KCIA men and some executives of the Kumsong Company (Korea), which has cooperative relations with Hitachi. What they had to say thoroughly disgusted me. Let me summarize their views.

Some Japanese Christians recently placed an anti-Park advertisement in the *New York Times*. It is a rather shocking fact that the funds for this definitely came from communist sources.⁴¹ This is the extent to which communist influence has spread in Japan. For the conservative Liberal Democratic Party to win the July election for the Upper House of the Japanese Diet, though, it was important that anti-Japanese movements in Korea be quelled.

We have engaged in extensive negotiations with Hitachi and reached an agreement to build a jointly-owned foundry on a large industrial site in Korea, and therefore had to agree to prevent any trouble from breaking out. Personally, though, we feel very uneasy about the overseas expansion of Japanese enterprises. In joint ventures that clearly state Korean capital is fifty percent or more, it actually is no more than ten to twenty percent. The president of a joint venture may be Korean, but the employees all know that the real boss is the Japanese manager. For every material input from Japan there is at least thirty percent flight of foreign capital out of Korea. Naturally the Japanese government puts top priority on preserving a system so favorable to itself—and just as naturally the Korean students oppose it.

Hitachi has since announced that it “acknowledges practicing ethnic discrimination and sincerely apologizes to Koreans in Japan” and that it “will take responsibility for establishing concrete measures to ensure all discrimination based on nationality will cease.” What concrete measures? Will it establish quotas for hiring Korean residents in Japan as American companies have for black Americans? Until only a few days ago the head of Hitachi’s Seoul office was still insisting that charges of discrimination were a gross misunderstanding. How to interpret this sudden about-face soon became the talk of the town. For one thing, Hitachi executives were clever enough to change posture as soon as the situation became unfavorable. And no appeal to reason or good faith was needed, just the power to make a decision when disadvantageous conditions were perceived. Perhaps that teaches the Korean people one more lesson on how to deal with Japanese companies, though surely the Japanese and the Park government will look for even more expedient escape routes in the future.

In fact, the Park regime has learned a great deal since the Kim Dae Jung case about how to manipulate the Japanese government and mass media. The “self-confessed spy” story was announced

only after first warning the Japanese Embassy in Seoul of possible North-instigated terrorist action against Japanese in Korea. The "spy" story served to underscore this danger. Why is it necessary to impose the same old intimidation tactics also on the Japanese? Apart from some political motives such a move is implausible. Seven or eight years ago there was a summertime epidemic of cholera in Korea, but the newspapers were prevented from playing it up for fear of hurting the tourist trade. Why, then, does the Park government now warn of terrorist dangers to the Japanese tourists it has wooed so zealously with *kisaeng* hostesses?

There are several possible reasons. The most obvious is the need to suppress anti-Japanese activities because of their anti-Park potential. Another is to further alienate the two arrested Japanese men from the Japanese people. They have been arrested and detained only after careful calculation of the pros and cons as regards relations with Japan. If they were released, they would very likely write some powerfully anti-Park reports.⁴² Hence, tensions surrounding these two will probably continue. Not only will they be kept in prison here, but the Park government will apply additional pressures to help intimidate, if not, indeed, silence the Japanese media. Very recently the key Korean personnel in Washington and Tokyo responsible for influencing public opinion in the U.S. and Japan were recalled to Seoul and sternly remonstrated for twenty days straight. Who knows, the KCIA may be planning, in the worst case, to instigate terrorism against Japanese, or cook up further incidents of "spies for the North" or cases of "instructions from the North." Anything is entirely possible if it is thought necessary by the Park regime to prolong itself. The willingness to engage in such trickery has already been clearly demonstrated in the Kim Dae Jung affair. The Park regime has become so desperate about self-preservation that it is no longer greatly concerned whether tourism falls off, foreign capital declines, Japanese companies pull out, or the North openly ridicules the government of the South.

I would like to add a word on a midnight attempt to plant in

Kim Dae Jung's home a document detailing plans for a coup d'état. It was obviously a frame-up to provide an excuse for further persecution of Kim. Kim Dae Jung immediately turned the document over to the police, who promised to investigate the matter but proceeded to ransack Kim's house. The friend who informed me of the incident commented, "It was a form of psychological torture, part of a systematic effort to drive him to a nervous breakdown." As long as those who abducted and took him out to sea in the hope of assassinating him are still alive, they will keep trying to get at him one way or other. Therefore we must continue to make our appeal for international support for Kim Dae Jung, though we wonder what effect our appeal has.

The poet Kim Chi Ha and the novelist Nam Chong Hyun are still kept *incognito* in prison. The dean of Yonsei University's Theological School and the woman pastor who worked among factory girls are also still behind bars. Convicted for violation of Emergency Decree No. 1, Chang Joon Ha is confined to a medical ward because of his liver ailment; the authorities are reportedly concerned that he may die from this illness, and the people would naturally accuse the Park regime of killing him.

A heavy silence hovers over the loveliness of Korea's early summer. The people are immobilized by fear and insecurity. That it is but the reverse side of the fear and insecurity of the Park regime and of the "emperor" himself, we know only too well.

JUNE 1974

Rumors and false reports

(June 10)

Currently the newspaper companies are directed by the government to collect "defense gifts," much like the old "defense contributions" required by the Japanese in prewar days. The purpose, of course, is to promote among the people a higher consciousness of the "threat from the North." Our interest focuses, however, on the story behind this campaign. The collected funds are not for planes or ships. Korea is a country with 600,000 troops, but does not produce its own weapons. Then, where does the money go? A flurry of "rumors and false reports" current among various sectors of the public explains it as follows. The generals and admirals live such luxurious lives that trouble, it is feared, may be brewing among the commissioned officers below them. The "defense gifts," therefore, are distributed among subordinates to preclude dissidence and cultivate unswerving loyalty to the Park regime. This slush fund is supplied by a withholding system of compulsory deductions from the salaries of all citizens, high and low.

With a flood of complaints pressing upon him, Park Chung Hee is more nervous than ever. No delay in obeying an order is tolerated. Government officials are beginning to grumble about the desperate policies inspired by nothing more than the base motives of preserving power for this haughty leader who craves excessive loyalty. But even ministers of state are constantly watched by secret agents and colleagues, and thus their grumblings are not infrequently mere gestures intended to save their own necks in case the Park regime falls.

Discussions are reportedly being held between the ruling and

opposition parties for convening the National Assembly in mid-July for one month while the students are on summer vacation. The long-recessed Assembly could, of course, be unilaterally conducted by the majority Democratic Republican Party without regard to opposition voices. But the government hesitates to convene the Assembly because it runs the danger of unnecessarily exciting the "innocent" people at this critical point in time.

Quite curiously, though, the newspapers are playing up the possibility that the reconvened Assembly would be free to debate the Presidential Emergency Decrees without fear of being liable to the death penalty for what might be said. Rumors are flying about that because the antigovernment forces have been effectively suppressed, some of the decrees may be abolished [Nos. 1 and 4 were in fact cancelled on August 23, 1974]. Reasons given are the desire to patch up the ROK's international image and, most importantly, strong pressures from the U.S.

Though there are signs that the Park regime feels the antigovernment movements have been thoroughly crushed, it remains as nervous as ever. The crisis theory of politics continues to churn out notions of a June crisis, a September crisis, and so on. Not that Park's national defense posture is anything but flawless—the state of readiness is so complete as to blast away at an American helicopter that strayed inside the defense perimeter of the Blue House [on the morning of June 6 a U.S. forces helicopter actually received ROK army fire and crashed in the vicinity of the Blue House].

The situation is supersensitive. The area around the Blue House is an impenetrable fortress. Campus guards at the universities are now under KCIA supervision, and it is these guards, we hear, who are arresting the students. KCIA agents are officially assigned to, and are regularly on duty at, campus guardrooms. The network is set up to provide the KCIA with instant warnings of the slightest activity of any known antigovernment persons, and "daily reports" are transmitted directly to the president.

Nevertheless, President Park is said to be extremely nervous, particularly over failure to win American and Japanese support for

himself and his administration. Many of his tough statements and actions must be interpreted as an outcropping of his uneasiness. The rash of clumsy efforts to recover his crumbling authority, however, only plunges him deeper into the dilemma over viable courses of action.

Several hundred young people, many of them Christians, have been arrested, and we figure at least 389 of them are still in prison. They are beginning to devise ways to continue their struggle inside the jails. A certain friend once taken in by the KCIA gave me this account: "Everyone inside is afraid those outside prison will lapse into silence. As for themselves, they don't expect to be freed until the day the Park regime is ousted. But they don't intend simply to wait out their terms passively. They will continue to struggle in whatever situation they find themselves. The struggle has now transcended time and space to become universal."

One professor, whom I think is well-known in Japan, refused to eat food sent in to him by friends on the outside. "How can I eat this food when the students here have none?" he asked. One high-spirited student told his interrogators, "I feel sorry for you people having to interrogate and judge us like this." Christian students in the prisons are praying and singing hymns. Interrogation of all students related to the April 3 events has been completed, so torture is not expected to be used indiscriminately. Since the prison guards do not understand English, the students use it to communicate with each other. Most probably the interrogators are so exhausted from having to inflict such horrendous torture (on orders from the top) in order to press the ridiculously trumped-up charges, that they are now emotionally disposed to exercise restraint.

A number of episodes involving poet Kim Chi Ha are being reported. It is confirmed that the funds he used came from Catholic sources, but the Catholic priest involved is now overseas and unable to return to Korea at the present time. This means that Catholic and also Protestant funds were used in the protest movement against the Park regime. It would make quite an impact on the

general public if this were made known, because it would undercut the government's fabrication that money and orders to mount an antigovernment movement came from the North and communists in Japan. Against this background, the following exchange took place between Kim Chi Ha and his KCIA interrogators.

"Say the funds came from non-Catholic sources, and we promise you a light sentence."

"No, put it down clearly that the funds came from Catholic sources. Why do you not report the actual facts? It is inexcusable to make the source ambiguous."

"We cannot do that."

"Until you do, I will go on a hunger strike right here in prison."

Because of his persistence, the record was reportedly made to read "1,080,000 won (slightly over \$2,000) from Catholic sources," though this is still completely concealed from the public. One must never yield to the temptation to believe the false promises of the KCIA, though the Korean students are afraid the two arrested Japanese may have done so.

Another episode similar to Kim Chi Ha's case is that involving former President Yun Po Sun and the Rev. Park Hyung Kyu. Yun Po Sun was subjected to investigation and formal interrogation in his home, where he openly admitted giving funds to Pastor Park, saying the money was provided for the purpose of restoring democracy in Korea. This led to the following questions and answers.

"We have heard the money was to be used for making Molotov cocktails."

"I was told that such measures might, unavoidably, be necessary if democracy is ever to be restored."

"Then please sign this statement."

"I will if you will promise me one thing."

"What is it?"

"Let Rev. Park Hyung Kyu go free."

"Very well, we will."

This promise was made by a high-ranking KCIA official, but doubtless was a false promise made only to get out of a difficult

situation. There is no reason to expect that it will be honored. Yun Po Sun asserts that he will pursue the matter, we hear, thus putting the KCIA in an even more difficult position. One Japanese newspaper prepared a detailed account of this episode involving former President Yun Po Sun, but we are told that it never appeared in print. Our guess is that the KCIA threatened to deport the correspondent who wrote the story, or else have him prosecuted by a military court.

Political control of the people extends to many areas of life. Persons sentenced to fifteen years in prison for violation of the Emergency Decrees also face suspension of civil rights for fifteen years after their prison terms end. They cannot, for instance, run for any political office. Even after all prison and suspension terms end, there is still another six-year period during which civil rights may be lost again if the person is not careful. Loss of civil rights means one cannot even be an ordinary member of a political party. In today's Korea others are effectively excluded for life from all normal functions of citizenship just to guarantee permanent control of the political system by its chief.

Overseas travel is presently more tightly controlled than at any time since the liberation of Korea from the Japanese. Koreans already abroad cannot easily return home. Return is out of the question, for example, for one pastor now overseas who was once active in the human rights movement here. The monthly journal of which he was the chief editor has been discontinued because, it is explained, the editor is not in the country.

Still the people trust each other. Not one case of informing secretly on another has happened. Having endured so long a club-wielding government, the people have forged an unspoken solidarity to sustain themselves. Therefore "rumors and false reports" flow freely among them. Otherwise the Korean people would probably die from suffocation. Of course this refers mainly to large cities like Seoul.

The biggest story currently going around Seoul concerns the Tokyo-based correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor*.⁴³

We wish to convey the gratitude of the Korean people for her courage in writing that, under the banner of anticommunism, Park Chung Hee is actually leading South Korea into ruin and, in fact, is aiding the cause of the communists who talk of "military unification" and "revolutionary unification" of the South. Her story made quite an impression on many Korean intellectuals. She has said precisely what the Koreans want to say but cannot. As a matter of fact, a rumor that Park Chung Hee recently held a rendezvous with leaders of the North at some secret spot in Hwanghaedo in the North is presently being circulated as if it were the honest truth. It is the most frightening rumor we have heard in a long time. I personally do not believe it is true. It does, however, embody a certain truth, namely, that such rumors are the natural offspring of the terrible image of Park Chung Hee as a man who once was a turncoat, who secretly engages in diabolic schemes, who turns his back on the people, and who will do anything to stay in power. Where this country is headed under the Park government, no one really knows. And that is our greatest problem.

In this letter I want to convey the earnest desire of the Korean people in the South that the North adopt a policy toward the South of pursuing a more peaceful line in the interests of all the Korean people. We want an end to the history drenched in blood spilled over ideologies. We have had enough Korean wars. At this juncture in history, every time the North hints at unification under its domination it simply causes the Park government to increase its suppression of the people, which in turn contributes to the spread of rumors among the people that Park is holding secret talks with the North either to prolong his regime or simply because he is untrustworthy. Is this not a very unfortunate situation for the North and for all the Korean people as well?

Rumors like these have gained added credence following the unhappy resignation of West Germany's Willy Brandt. But we must not allow ourselves to indulge in thinking that the Park regime is on the way out and control by the North is about to begin. This is precisely the line Park himself pushes. Rather, the people in the

South, particularly intellectuals, view the day when the Park regime falls as the beginning of a difficult but promising rebirth of democracy. The bitter past will be turned into the foundation upon which a democratic future can be built. A trustworthy people-centered dialogue with the North, however difficult it may be at first, can then begin, we believe. For the Park regime to advertise that its own destiny is the South's destiny, or for the North to devise policies on the same formula, is to perpetrate a serious misconception. At a time when the rest of the world is moving toward peace and the establishment of democracy and human rights, we appeal to our friends abroad for their cooperation to help assure that the Korean peninsula, South and North, not be the only place to pursue outdated historical illusions and their calamitous consequences.

A treacherous power

(June 18)

The Park regime's cynicism toward Japan is most difficult to understand. Many Koreans are certainly suspicious of and embarrassed by it. The two governments have thus far made a show of friendship like that of shipmates on a pleasant spree. Certainly the arrest of the two Japanese students Hayakawa and Tachikawa is the height of absurdity, and we suspect the Park government would like very much to squeeze out from under the yoke of its overreaction in this case.

Relations between Japan and Korea are primarily financial and commercial. As a "guest" in its Korean ventures, the Japanese government is perhaps too solicitous, lest the "host" lose his temper. Even if the Korean government indulges in some deplorable conduct, the Japanese government avows its intention to avoid any cracks in ROK-Japan relations but succeeds only in arousing very bitter feelings in the Korean people. Or, is there some hidden agenda behind Japan's forbearance? Is there something to reports, for instance, that high-level Japanese politicians are trying, through accomplices here, to buy up lands around Pusan, Inchon, and on Chejudo island? Speculations like these abound among us.

Japan is perhaps worried that something will obstruct the advance of its enterprises into the Masan free export zone; for some reason, the Park regime keeps snapping at everyone like a "mad dog." Speculation on a more outrageous possibility sees some persons in the Park regime operating in direct collusion with certain groups in Japan. Unless the Japanese government shows a more resolute attitude, the Korean people will become more confused than ever.

The government of West Germany took a very firm stand at the time of the notorious "East Berlin spy incident,"⁴⁴ inspiring tremendous respect among Koreans for the German people. The American attitude toward the *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent was also quite clear, unlike the Japanese government's duplicity in exhibiting protest but providing a loophole through its proviso of "avoiding any cracks in ROK-Japan relations."

The fact is, though, that Koreans have harbored considerable suspicion of Americans as well. The principal U.S. concern with Korea is a military one. America is thought to have sacrificed Korea to its own national interests. Specifically, it gave full support to the Park regime in return for ROK army participation in the Vietnam War. This meant overlooking illegal Korean elections or (as some think) collusion in them. At that time the U.S. unashamedly paid the highest compliments to the Park government. Against this background, the Koreans have felt that the U.S. was in a good position to bring stronger pressures to bear on Park Chung Hee and are disappointed that it has not done so. But with both the Kim Dae Jung affair and the *Christian Science Monitor* incident, America has completely refurbished its image. When chances to do the same passed before their very eyes, authorities in Japan have looked the other way, with increasingly adverse effects on Japan's image. One of my friends who knows Japan intimately made this observation: "Actually, feelings among Japanese officials may be nearing the boiling point, though they are anxious to avoid an embarrassing showdown in which the Park government would cut Japan off. This results, I think, in Japan's simply letting

things pass without going into them very deeply, like an adult often treats an unruly child. This treatment naturally irritates the Park regime, because it knows that without Japanese money it could make little headway and, indeed, might not last very long."

It would be a mistake, however, to think Japan is as put out with the Park regime as America is. Neither can Japan speak out as strongly as America. The Park government resembles a barking dog. Feed it and stroke it, and it is friendly. Or, give it a good beating and it comes begging for forgiveness. But take your eyes off it, and it gets its back up again. The Koreans have a long experience with this. It does not pay to approach the ROK government in good faith, especially not now when everything is entangled in political frame-ups.

Though it holds the entire judiciary in the palm of its hand, the Park government claims South Korea is a democratic state with an independent judiciary. Defendants' families are not permitted inside military courtrooms to observe trials on fabricated charges, yet the government claims judgments are made fairly and impartially according to the law. Yes, South Korea is a democratic country—but with a difference, goes the plea, because of its experiences of communism. Its democracy is one in which Park Chung Hee's dictatorship is permanently recognized and anyone who merely appears to criticize it may be arrested without warrant, tried by military court, and even sentenced to death. Previously we heard a lot about "Korean-style democracy," but this seems to have been completely forgotten in favor of the now current "free democracy." The shift may have resulted from failure to provide an intellectually respectable rationale for the "Korean-style democracy" slogan.

A certain journalist offered the following analysis of the situation. Within or outside the country the Park regime is purely and simply a treacherous power. It may actually make a display of sweeping away all the emergency measures. Or, it may permit the National Assembly to debate them. But the KCIA operations and the irresponsible courts will continue. We must not be hoodwinked by its overt performances. What will the government do, for ex-

ample, with the persons sent to jail for fifteen years? This journalist then commented: "I personally do not believe the situation could be controlled without the Emergency Decrees. The alternative is to use secret police and to pass sentences in secret, but this is not easy to do. It was tried for a long time and proved inadequate. So there was no choice other than to fortify control with the threat of death. Either way, the Park government is caught in a terrible dilemma."

A very strange atmosphere pervades the press community. Inside news offices reporters are heard to shout, "Why can't this article be printed?" Articles not touching directly on politics, particularly those not directly related to the emergency measures—the so-called society columns—occupy more and more space in the papers. Two or three days ago thirteen workers at an unlicensed gym shoe factory became completely paralyzed from a job-related illness. The newspapers played this up as a major scandal. The Labor Ministry official who went to investigate the matter berated the victims, saying, "Do you think this can be solved by informing the newspapers?" The papers also have harsh words of criticism about the hardships of shoeshine boys and for the high-handed ways of taxi drivers. Provocative headlines blare "TRAFFIC OFFENSES INCREASE IN VIOLENCE."

The Park government, I feel, has about exhausted the limits of conventional politics. It publishes almost daily warnings of possible invasion by the North, yet with equal zeal assures prospective tourists and investors of complete safety and security. Kim Dae Jung, says the government, is free to travel abroad, and the full account of his case, we are told, is soon forthcoming. To date, no one knows what happened to Kim Dong Woon.⁴⁵ But now Kim Dae Jung is being charged with election law violations⁴⁶ and must appear in court. No special consideration can be given to his travel plans just because he is Kim Dae Jung, it is explained. The court proceedings are likely to drag out interminably. Why has the problem of Kim Dae Jung been brought forward at this particular time? The government claims it is to bring his long-unsettled affair to an end, but the people learned long ago not to take government

statements at face value. Thus speculations run rife over what might be the hidden agenda this time.

One likely reason obviously is to force Kim Dae Jung to abandon his plans to go abroad, but this is too minor a concern to explain the urgency for making an issue of Kim at this particular juncture. Another possibility derives from the Park government's past record of carrying out nefarious schemes whenever the U.S. was engrossed in an election or some political crisis. On this theory, Japan's Upper House election offers a good opportunity to clear up the pending Kim Dae Jung case. The Japanese government will be too busy or too afraid of upsetting its election to speak out on touchy foreign affairs. Some others think the Park regime simply wants to antagonize Japan's ruling Liberal Democratic Party at election time.

More important possibilities concern domestic politics in Korea. Despite house confinement, Kim Dae Jung has been relatively free to make statements, especially to foreign correspondents. Furthermore, in the process of investigating the National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students it became evident that Kim Dae Jung is the students' overwhelming choice as a national leader. Accordingly, the government developed a desire to connect Kim with the pro-Pyongyang General Federation of Korean Residents in Japan. Accusations of election law violations are for public consumption. Efforts will be made to pin the heaviest possible guilt on him. Park Chung Hee is hoping to catch America and Japan off guard in this bid to redress his power position. If it were not for public opinion, Park would simply eliminate Kim, as was planned in the first place.

No one questions that Kim Dae Jung is being summoned to court on direct orders from Park Chung Hee. The necessity for clamping down on statements by Kim Dae Jung has intensified, especially with the general convention of the opposition New Democratic Party coming up soon. Not only is a new party head to be chosen, but there is also considerable chance that, despite the readiness of many NDP members to accommodate the government, other conscientious party members will raise questions about Kim

Dae Jung on the convention floor. From what we hear, certain members are sure to bring his situation up as an urgent motion. The point is that summoning Kim Dae Jung to court is a new tactic in mental torture.

To bring Kim to trial has such ominous international implications that there must be some compelling reason for it. It is safe to assume that reason to be a combination of all the factors touched on above. As history's greatest perpetrator of election malpractices, Park Chung Hee did not dare to accuse Kim Dae Jung of such crimes until the current level of controls made Park's position virtually unassailable.

For Kim Dae Jung, however, this is definitely a new crisis. He is taking an uncompromising stand in asking why it was wrong to say, as he did in 1971, that Park Chung Hee would move toward a totalitarian government. The present situation is, of course, exactly as he forecast. We feel a slight nostalgia at seeing the courts serve once again as the stage for his political struggle after his long absence from the limelight. As with the two Japanese, the government has, in the new Kim Dae Jung case, set for itself a problem not easily settled. Whether the decision to do so came out of a KCIA consensus or resulted from some personal irritation of Park Chung Hee, there is, realistically speaking, a very rocky road ahead.

People assemble to observe Kim Dae Jung's trial, and they gather to welcome or send him off with applause at both the courtroom and the neighborhood where he lives. Vocal expressions of support for his political struggle are sometimes heard in the courtroom. These groups of people, it must never be forgotten, represent a broad nationwide base of support for Kim Dae Jung. This man whom the masses support—why are America and Japan so hesitant to respond to the possibilities of lasting friendship and a steady and sincere quest of mutual interests which he embodies? He is certainly no reckless radical. Indeed, when the Korean people recover their heritage once again, it is most likely with him that they will move forward to preserve it.

'The people's judgment

(June 18)

We Koreans often allude to Japan in twisted terms, though this is doubtless a discourtesy to our Japanese friends. Take, for example, the sarcastic verse in a recent news item referring to the dominant position of Japanese companies in the Masan industrial district.

In the Masan free export zone
Workers are dismissed, personnel down;
The guest slaps his host in the face,
The tables are turned around.

To be sure, we have a bad habit of speaking sarcastically about the North and Japan. There are reasons enough for this, but it is nonetheless lamentable. Not long ago this rhyme appeared:

Scores of stowaways were arrested
By a patrol boat from Japan;
Those who seek their refuge there
Will find no helping hand.

Countless examples can be found if one looks for them, and at times they are enough to raise doubts about the good sense of newspapers in printing them. The reason I mention them here is to indicate the extent to which relations between our two countries have soured and how things, far from improving, seem to be getting worse. Of course there are plenty of occasions when the Japanese themselves open up old wounds. On the other hand, the Kim Dae Jung affair and the arrest of the two Japanese have surely gone a long way toward blackening the Japanese image of Koreans. We are increasingly unable to excuse our own faults.

Sometimes I wonder if our two countries are not inescapably linked in a common evil destiny. If true, how are we ever to build together toward a better age? The question is one that neither can nor should be evaded. We are extremely happy that attitudes toward Korea have been steadily improving in modern-day Japan, even though unhappy events still occur. For the sake of long-term

mutual interests, then, the Kim Dae Jung affair and the Hayakawa-Tachikawa case must be pursued to the end with the same energy and commitment seen in America's Watergate nightmare. I am told that the American newspapers, even when their readers showed some aversion to the sordid Watergate stories, saw the problem as a matter of life and death for American democracy and thus pursued the questions of dishonesty and immorality of men in public office to the bitter end. For establishing new relations with Korea and the rest of Asia, we hope very much that the Japanese media will do the same. Japan cannot afford to ignore human rights and let these two cases be swept under the rug. Precisely because Korea must not be permitted to evade its responsibilities for these cases, conscientious persons in this country are risking their lives for the cause of human rights. We definitely need the support of conscientious people throughout the world, and especially in Japan. The reason the Park regime is so sensitive about international opinion is because it so strongly supports our struggle for democracy in this country.

Let us turn our attention once more to the National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students and to the actual charges currently being made against it in the military courts. The charges are drawn up under the title "Scheme to build a communist-directed power base in the universities." The accusation that the movement was communist-directed is a complete fabrication, for which two "routes" of communist influence were contrived. One of these routes is the "People's Revolutionary Party" (PRP) and the other runs to the Japan Communist Party and the (pro-North) General Federation of Korean Residents in Japan.

No such thing as the "People's Revolutionary Party" exists in South Korea. There is no possibility of "orders" or "instructions." The real facts of this case are that the authorities, after investigating the students, drew up an operational chart at the top of which they placed the ghost organization called the "People's Revolutionary Party," with lines of impugned influence drawn horizontally from the communist organizations in Japan.

Generally speaking, the Korean students are taking a firm stand in the courts and testifying confidently, while there are, in my judgment, stooges whose testimony is ambiguous. I have the feeling that the two Japanese defendants should respond a bit more squarely. They have every reason to acknowledge, with some pride, that they had a genuine interest in democratic movements in Korea and in informing the larger world about them. Did the timidity of their own government unnerve them? Could they not have boldly reproached it for allowing them, as aliens in Korea, to be put at the mercy of the toughest courts in the world? We were hoping they would put up more resistance in court. To say so may be unfair toward foreigners who sympathize with us. But resolute resistance is the only way to overcome the Park regime. Perhaps they did not realize that meekness merely invites assault by our government. Or, it may be true that only where governments are strong are the people also strong.

Investigations relative to this case focused primarily on the sources of funds and the commonsense theory that “orders” or “instructions” accompany donations of funds. Judging from the government’s own report on this case, however, not one *won* came from the so-called “People’s Revolutionary Party,” and the amount of money offered by the two Japanese is not clearly specified. Only the vague term “activity funds” is used. This is intended to obscure the fact that only about 7,500 won (about \$15) was paid by these two for meals. This vagueness contrasts sharply with the exactness of charges made against poet Kim Chi Ha regarding the 1,080,000 won (about \$2,250) he allegedly received, as well as how much and to whom disbursements were made. It would be quite odd, after all, to be giving orders when no funds were supplied.

The KCIA, by methods such as ascertaining who paid the bill when students gathered at coffee shops, were able to determine fully the sources of all funds. In order to come up with a “communist” charge, they went to extraordinary extremes. As one KCIA operative confided to me, it was extremely difficult to carry out a scenario produced at the top before the alleged incidents occurred. He also

told me that the KCIA had managed to send two of its men to a conference sponsored by Korean Christians in Japan. The effort expended indicates that the KCIA is encountering great difficulty in pinning communist charges on the many unindicted persons still detained in prison.

Some sources of funds have been confirmed. The Korean Student Christian Federation had activity funds from Protestant sources, and these appear to have been quite sizable. Rev. Park Hyung Kyu disbursed money which he received from former President Yun Po Sun. Persons in the opposition parties and others critical of the present situation contributed small sums for meals and other incidentals. And many students used their own money (intended for registration fees when the new academic term began in April). These are all the sources of funds which undergirded the determined struggle for which students risked death, sources which the Park regime falsely converted into "communist funds" accompanied by "communist orders." Having thus grouped all together in order to accuse them, the government then divided them—the "People's Revolutionary Party" persons, the two Japanese, and the students—for prosecution by separate military courts. It is all a travesty that provokes the wrath of both God and man.

One of the most serious rumors concerning this whole affair is that more than one of the key student leaders were actually KCIA agents, and it was one of these who implicated the two Japanese defendants. From their testimony in court, these two certainly do not give the impression of being men capable of giving orders, but rather well-meaning sympathizers. What is the purpose of charging them with such dreadful crimes? A widely held conjecture is that a KCIA agent was among the Korean residents in Japan whom they met. This suggests the sort of treacherous society we live in. Because of the KCIA's intimate and precise knowledge of all aspects of the student movements, students related to the movements are now firmly convinced that KCIA agents had made deep inroads among them.

Last month there was another flare-up at the Catholic Sokang

University. In the administration-censored campus newspaper the students replaced an approved editorial with a much stronger one. As soon as the paper was printed it was confiscated. Unfortunately I have not yet obtained a copy. Three students and their faculty advisor were arrested; other details are still unconfirmed.

The other day on the street I met an older friend, a Christian, and some words of his still run through my mind: "The older generation should take more responsibility, stand up more for the young people. One old-timer was scared off by a mere threat to examine his finances. It is a time for martyrs, alright—beginning with senior citizens! Martyrdom always happens under a bunch of crazy gangsters. It was so under Nero and the Nazis. And the Japanese used to ask us, 'Who is superior, the emperor or Jesus?' Are we now to be sent to our deaths as 'reds' by another crazy fool?"

I thought of how the hardships of struggle make me fear for myself. Death, prison, torture—fear of these may become inflated in the imaginations of those who do not engage in the struggle. Are not our friends in prison in high spirits, carrying on a courageous struggle wherever they are? Acutely aware of my own lethargy, I could not help asking myself how long I would sit idly by...? Suddenly I looked up and saw the pure white clouds of early summer floating calmly across a clear blue sky.

JULY 1974

Sentenced to death

(July 17)

The military court verdicts for the NFDYS students, the PRP men, and the two Japanese nationals have finally been rendered. Fourteen persons⁴⁷ were sentenced to death. In the case of student defendants, the death penalties were explained this way:

In line with the unification scheme of the northern puppets, communist elements and rebellious antigovernment forces forged a common front to carry out a communist revolution. To exercise leniency toward the defendants just because they are students would go against the interests of fifty million Koreans for the security and prosperity of the fatherland. Therefore they are sentenced to death.

Death penalties and heavy sentences handed down under the Presidential Emergency Decrees now total ninety-one. Still awaiting sentences are countless persons thrown into jail for little or no cause. Some have yet to be investigated. The public is outraged by the treacherous Park regime's lies, which do not mesh one with the other, and even more by the claim that the sentences were passed in the name of all fifty million Koreans, north and south. What an arrogant lot! Cruel and merciless. Once again we see how brutal our own rulers can be. It is bad enough that plunderers pass judgment on patriots, but doubly unbearable since nothing is settled. The crisis only deepens.

Kim Chi Ha was among those sentenced to death, as a behind-the-scenes instigator. The court's verdict used his real name, Kim Yong Il. To use his pen name, Chi Ha, would have drawn atten-

tion to him as author of the famous poem, "The Five Bandits." The people have long condemned the regime as bandits because it has terrorized the innocent; its heartless response is to condemn fourteen innocent men to death. When the bench handed down the death penalty on Kim Chi Ha, a bitter laugh came to his lips as he said, "The sparrow is said to give one last chirp before it dies. . . . I have done what is right, and if ever released from prison, I will do the same again."

At the height of the lamentable process, Prime Minister Kim Jong Pil bragged, "Punishment for this one is a warning to a hundred others." From the same mouth came another boast that because Korea is a democracy, the courts are independent and the president could not intervene. While Park Chung Hee and his cohorts may well have convinced themselves of this, the honest people of this land are left saying, "You gotta be kidding!" Indeed, everyone was shocked by the death sentences. They just murmur, "That guy will do anything."

That the two Japanese defendants were given twenty years in prison also shocked the people. "So the Japanese government let them down after all," they mutter. Is it because the Japanese, so ready to defer to guests, treat the Park regime as a client to be catered to? The Park government seems ready to move further into the international arena with its usual practices. An incident occurs which, the government claims, will be quickly settled. But the case drags on without any action being taken. If others establish some facts, it imposes its own interpretation on them and quickly regains the initiative. It was the same in the Kim Dae Jung incident as in this one involving the two Japanese.

The government, itself an agent of terrorism, makes a huge fuss over apprehending a suspect. The public in time loses interest and the settlement of the case becomes anticlimactic, if not lost in obscurity. In this recent trial even former ROK President Yun Po Sun was taken in for questioning on suspicion of contributing funds to student protesters—an act which, under the Emergency Decrees, could be punished by death. It is reported that the U.S. Embassy,

when it heard of the investigation, tried to intervene but was assured by Korean authorities that Yun Po Sun was detained only as a witness. When he was in fact indicted, the American Embassy was reportedly furious. So it was with Kim Dae Jung and the two Japanese. Fraud is the essence of the Park regime. Now the swindle is put to international use. The Park regime is so locked into its own ways it can no longer take international criticism into consideration.

Universities that employ Japanese instructors are being pressured by the government to dismiss them. Japanese studying in Korea are also under pressure to return home. Why? Because the Korean government is afraid that word of its wicked deeds will get out to the world. Some of my Japanese friends are infuriated by the Japanese Embassy's silence. ROK Ambassador to the U.S. Hahn reportedly told a *Christian Science Monitor* correspondent that personal safety cannot be guaranteed after entry into Korea because North Korean spies disguised as South Koreans engage in assassinations. Everything is blamed on the North.

The Korean people are really puzzled by the Japanese government's apparent impotence. Here we see a peculiarity of Korean attitudes at work. They suspect that something deeper than economic ties is involved. Since the Japanese government accepted a less than full settlement of the Kim Dae Jung case, the Park regime this time certainly had the upper hand. Park's government is very clever at acquiring accomplices in its dealings, whom it then handles as it pleases. Someone is corrupted or led into an embarrassing position that is later used to intimidate him into compliance. It appears that Japan's top ranks were caught in such a trap. Perhaps some of them had private investments in Korea, or land purchases, or shared rake-offs on business deals, or had joined in some debauchery. Once snared, they must remain silent or become partners in further misdeeds. If the Japanese government wants to dispel Korean suspicions that such trickery has spread to its own shores, it must assume a much more resolute posture.

If Japan fails to stand up for the human rights of its own citizens,

how can it be expected to protect the human rights of aliens like Kim Dae Jung? Firm support for the two Japanese defendants would certainly win the Korean people's respect. Were human rights defended, even at some cost to national interests, Japan would have the respect of other peoples. If that is beyond Japan's power, then the Korean government has the hawk on a string and the Korean people sneer scornfully. A more decisive stance by Japan would, in our view, serve as a restraint on the violent repression of the Park regime. The Park government will to the end resist freeing the two Japanese. As in the Kim Dae Jung case, it has committed a real blunder which will be fully exposed if ever these two get back to Japan.

The Park regime exerted every effort to make the "communist" charge stick in the case of the National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students, dubbing all NFDYS leaders as operatives of a communist-style underground movement. No one knows better than Park Chung Hee himself that this is a frame-up, and no one fears exposure of the truth more than he. Had the defendants actually acted as charged, the Park regime would have been quick to protest loudly its "friendship" with Japan and to exhibit benevolent magnanimity. Without strong pressures from Japan, however, the prospects for a fair resolution of the two Japanese scholars' case are dismal and distant. It does not pay to be tricked by the Park regime. Whatever happened, for example, to the "Federation of Action Groups to Save the Nation" (see p. 22) said to have abducted Kim Dae Jung? Everything is cool when anything can be fabricated. Even so, dictators do not like to discuss the past, for there is no consistency between start and finish. Bolstering the regime's power these days boils down to strengthening the gun batteries and security vigilance around the Blue House, for fear of assassination. Park Jong Kyu, head of the security guard charged with defending the president's life, has taken on a virtually absolute role. Even small matters, like daring to report that international opinion is running strongly against the president, are met by the roar of this security chief.

Park Chung Hee's closest associates are always the most hard-headed. The loyalty of the moderate is suspect. In the escalation of toughness, the least display of flexibility is regarded as cowardly betrayal. After all, apart from the few antigovernmental, communist troublemakers, the country is deemed completely placid—and the government free to do as it wishes. ROK Ambassador to the U.S. Hahm also reflects this mentality. Returning home recently, he replied to reporters' questions about anti-Park criticisms in the American mass media:

A few newspapers print a lot of criticisms of the Korean government, but the problem seems to be that their sources are restricted to only certain Koreans. Some American reporters even ask Koreans to exert pressures on our government, to raise criticisms. What we need to discuss at home differs, however, from what we are prepared to share with foreign countries.

Ambassador Hahm takes great pride in the fact that he is the only Korean among the 150 persons chosen by *Time* magazine as up and coming leaders of the 1980's. It is because Korea is a weak country, he openly claims, that only he was chosen, to which a certain friend of mine added:

Japan's Crown Prince and one member [Ishihara Shintarō] of the Seirankai [right-wing faction in the conservative Liberal Democratic Party] also were selected. It was a joke. Hahm majored in law and studied at Harvard, and it seems to have gone to his head. But this will ruin him, to be a lawyer yet so deep into the establishment. He seems to think that things can be solved by getting rid of one or two troublemakers, but he lacks a realistic understanding of the establishment. In college he tended to be complacent, and he was generally disliked. With his mentality he probably feels at home in a regime full of former military intelligence types.

I could only wonder at the marvelous self-confidence of Hahm's

words. Does he, like Park Chung Hee, have so tough a stomach and so hard a head as to feel no anguish over the pain suffered in Korea today? There is hardly a man of integrity in the Park government. The Korean people's cries of distress and agony are heard everywhere, save by those who oppress and sit in judgment on them. Moreover, I know too many once-critical intellectuals who have been bought off by those in power and become even more cruel. Consequently, I have a deep-seated distrust of intellectuals.

The newspapers carry a government report that tenant farming among rural households has risen to 34%. Land reform was supposed to make them independent farmers, but this represents a 31.8% increase in tenancy since the early days of the Park regime. Prices on the stock market have fallen 24% since a year ago, despite a 47% jump in wholesale prices. There is no sign of economic recovery, and "private loans" are rapidly eroding the companies. Exports in June dropped 6.6% below the previous month. News analysts say the sluggish export trend will be longlasting. Warehouses fill up, factory operations are down 20% to 30%, and dismissal notices haunt the workers. Still, the Park regime's confidence is boundless, and it is indifferent to the decline of its international image. It is concerned only to weed out malcontents and dissidents with a lavish issue of death penalties.

Because the struggle inside Korea has been virtually crushed we must rely on friends overseas to carry on a bold struggle. It is the only way to deflate the Park regime enough for the struggle at home to be revived. The longer this regime lasts, the more real national strength diminishes; but the people's solidarity is strengthened, and that is the foundation of national unity for rebuilding tomorrow. Yun Po Sun and Kim Dae Jung are more than ever the symbols of that hope.

Those overseas must not let the time of waiting for the Park regime's fall be a time of futile hopelessness, but must use it effectively to organize and cultivate solidarity among our fellow countrymen. They must work hard now to break the ties of other countries with the Park regime and to prepare for future relations with

the democratic government that will replace it. The diplomatic missions of the present oppressive regime will some day go out of business, so now is the time to foster new relations overseas. From the moment the Park clique falls we must be ready to rebuild our fatherland rapidly with the support of all democratic governments and peoples. If this succeeds, then for the first time since liberation thirty years ago the cherished ideals and hopes of true national unity will flourish again. As our brothers are condemned to death, the one thing we must not do is to lose all hope. While waiting, and wailing, we must push on toward the dawn of a brighter tomorrow. We pray that our friends abroad will carry on the good fight.

Growing old

(July 17)

As the fall assembly of the United Nations approaches, what does the Park regime intend to do? Its image must be the worst in the world right now; its stupidity must provoke repugnance. The ROK National Assembly has not convened for seven months—is it enough for the Assemblymen to draw their salaries and just play around? Many of them travel abroad, and not a few reportedly smuggle luxuries into this country. One impatient opposition Assemblyman said scornfully, “We are only baby-sitting legislators,” with no real work to do.

Writers naturally seek some release for pent-up feelings in their works. In an ironic reversal of current political events, one recent sample portrays a frail poet, despondent over human existence, who is construed by the highest authorities as an absolute patriot whom the people are urged to revere. This rebuke of absurd ultranationalism could be more easily dismissed if it were not such a perfect example of the way our school books on national history are being written nowadays.

In a novel titled “Punishment” another writer depicts a man arrested and convicted on suspicion of plotting the assassination of a corrupt government official. The defendant becomes insane, but recovers his sanity only to be advised to feign insanity in order to

escape capital punishment. He refuses to do so and goes off to meet his judgment, saying,

Though condemned to die, how can I, in my right mind, pretend madness? There are those in our history who have done so in such troubled times. But I will not pay that price just to stay alive. As we often hear, isn't living a kind of punishment itself? No, I'm going, going to face them as long as any strength is left in me, until the day they realize the truth about me.

Perhaps it is a time for going mad, to add weeping to wailing. Or, so I thought when I saw the headline "YUN PO SUN INDICTED." Also indicted with him were Rev. Park Hyung Kyu, Kim Chan Kuk, dean of Yonsei University's theological school, and Yonsei professor Kim Dong Gil. A former president of Korea and elder statesman, Yun Po Sun must be indignant. A lifelong patriot is ordered to stand trial by a tyrant who betrayed his countrymen during the era of Japanese rule by serving in the Japanese army. After liberation he betrayed his comrades in the Yosu Rebellion,⁴⁸ and again betrayed the people in the 1961 coup and in repeated violations of the public trust. What a ruthless record. Yun Po Sun maintains his composure but must be suffering sleepless anguish. I cannot help worrying about his health.

When Park's military coup of May 16, 1961 took place, Yun Po Sun [ROK president at the time] is said to have grieved, "What was bound to happen finally did." This has been interpreted by some to mean that Yun Po Sun was waiting for a military coup to topple his prime minister, Chang Myon, so that he himself could seize power. When the military did not relinquish power to him, this version goes, Yun Po Sun resigned from the presidency. Though he has continued to struggle against the Park regime, it is only because he still wishes to be president out of sheer lust for power. On this interpretation, one friend commented:

Yun Po Sun's remark on the inevitability of Chang Myon's fall meant simply that the latter's incompetence and negligence

invited the military coup. When it came, not one member of Chang's government apart from Yun Po Sun remained—they had all fled. Later they came out of hiding and issued a statement supporting the military regime. The KCIA has, in fact, circulated all kinds of rumors to discredit him.

This same person noted that Yun Po Sun was among the last conservative nationalists who struggled against Japanese rule. Up to now the last days of the conservative nationalists have not been held in very high regard. Yun Po Sun should be respected as the last surviving member of that historic group of patriots, as an example for the next generation, according to this friend. He had his reasons for this view, as was clear from an episode he shared with me.

One day, after Yun Po Sun left office, I had a leisurely chat with him. I had been reading a collection of essays by [the Japanese] Kawai Eijirō, in which he recounted a student discussion, I think it was at Oxford University, in which a Korean student criticized Japan's colonial rule. Kawai ventured a defense of colonialism as somehow inevitable. Britain then possessed many colonies, so the British students took Kawai's side, putting the Korean student in a wretched spot. When the Korean left the group to return to Edinburgh, Kawai was left with an indelible memory of the sadness of the departing figure. His essay was full of compassion, unlike the Japanese imperialism of that time; it held out hope for Korea's independence someday. I couldn't forget that passage, and recalled it in my chat with Yun Po Sun in hopes that because he had once studied in Edinburgh he might know something more of the incident related in Kawai's essay. His reply was sparse: "Yes, that really happened; I was that student." Not wanting to open old wounds, I dropped the matter.

And now this elder statesman is to stand trial in a tragic reversal of history where he who has a right to judge is instead brought to unfair judgment. To the military court's prosecutor who asked,

"Why did you give funds to those who thought the government should be overthrown?" Yun Po Sun retorted:

Who else but the Park regime drives people into trying to topple the government? It is precisely the Park regime that has undermined the first axiom of democratic government for the peaceful transfer of political power. No other way was open for the exercise of the rights of citizens on whose sovereignty a democratic government rests.

Demonstrations organized with funds contributed by a Roman Catholic bishop and Yun Po Sun, himself a Christian, were condemned as "communist." "If the jailed students and Christians are 'reds'," said Yun, "then I am one, too!" Under the Park regime, all who long for democracy are "communists" and should be exterminated. It's a mad, mad age, full of indignation and grief. Growing old but not unsightly, abandoning personal comfort to work courageously for the right, Yun Po Sun is the kind of elder statesman for whose happiness the nation prays.

Around us are too many whose aging is unseemly and ignoble. All who once professed patriotism are now silent. Privately they still voice criticisms, but none trade words for action. A peaceful, idle old age seems their choice. One aged pastor was delighted to receive an invitation to the Blue House and after being lectured on the importance of the church's opposition to communism, thrilled His Excellency by exclaiming, "Why, our church held an anticommunist worship service!" A high-ranking Buddhist who was also present chimed in, "We Buddhists also held an anticommunist ceremony." News reports of this kind of loyalty gave many people an unsettling glimpse of the ugliness and miserliness of old age.

I am reminded of the persistent rumor that one billion won has been spent to picture Yun Po Sun as the embodiment of craving for political power. Thus does Park Chung Hee dispose of his rivals. In the same vein, Prime Minister Kim Jong Pil directly attacked the distinguished antigovernment critic Ham Suk Hon as a "split personality." It is said that several hundred million won were

also expended to discredit Ham as mentally unbalanced. But such KCIA tactics no longer work, for it is all too clear who is crazy and who will sell out the country just to satisfy political cravings.

There seems to be more than one reason why Yun Po Sun got entangled in the NFDYS court case. After students and others were arrested, Yun became very active. Word got around that if those on trial were accused of following orders from the North and were condemned to death, then he might take some drastic action. Thus it became necessary to put a check on him. Like he said, "That which was bound to happen finally did."

Having abandoned proper government, the Park regime's scramble to avert collapse can be expected to last for some time. As with most people, its problem now is just to survive. But the day of Park's fall can come at any time, without warning, and we must not forego preparations now and then panic when that day comes. Under the stifling conditions inside Korea, though, we have virtually no flexibility to prepare for the morrow. That is why we are counting so heavily on our friends abroad. All this reminds me of a story one leading figure recently told me:

About three o'clock in the morning several days ago someone banged on our front door. While I was putting on my robe, my wife went to the door. It was our son, home from the army on leave for the first time in a long time. But before I realized who it was, I yelled, "Who's that banging on the door at this ungodly hour?" It's so common, you know, for the KCIA to make surprise arrests after midnight, and I haven't had a peaceful night's sleep for some time. However, my son was crestfallen. Here he had rushed home without stopping anywhere, to get here as soon as he could, and I gave him such a poor welcome.

It seemed to me a perfect symbol of our Korean situation. "Maybe it's my age," he went on, "that makes me choke up so easily." Unconsciously his hand went up to blot a tear. Perhaps I too am getting old, for it was all I could do to hold back my own.

AUGUST 1974

Secret trials

(Aug. 8)

The inhumanities committed these days by government officials often call to mind the Korean War (1950–1953) when soldiers not infrequently treated groups of refugees like packs of wild animals. We had a saying then (probably for maintaining self-discipline) about being submissive as sheep toward other peoples but vicious as wolves toward our own. But how can men today be so affectionate toward their own children yet so savage toward someone else's? Is it simply part of the job of being a soldier, policeman, or KCIA operative?

The trials by military courts are conducted without the defendant's family or lawyer in the courtroom. No one is notified of the date and time of proceedings. Almost every morning around 8:00 A.M. crowds gather to wait for the posting of the list of cases to be tried that day. If the name of someone's husband or son appears on the day's docket, there is an immediate scurry to contact relatives and lawyers. At times families get to the courtroom only after the trial is over, and watch, through eyes swimming in tears, their loved ones being hauled off to their cells.

A day when a dozen or so students were tried is typical. Their families gathered in front of the military courtroom and found their sons' prison numbers on the blackboard; after persistent pleading they were allowed in the courtroom. During the four-hour proceedings the students never denied that they opposed the Yushin (Revitalization) system. Evidence submitted against them was nothing more than a few placards, statements, and other mimeographed leaflets. Asked whether, if released, they would do the same

things again, some indicated willingness to restrain themselves. But most replied, "I cannot say I would never repeat my actions." Pressed again at the end, "Would you do it again?" most of them simply responded, "I cannot answer that."

That was their first hearing. The second was to be the prosecutorial hearing—again, with no prior notice. Only two or three days are needed for the military courts to conclude a case. All proceedings are under KCIA direction, which is guided by memos from Park Chung Hee who personally sets the penalties for each defendant. Park is uneasy unless directly involved, for, as he has confided to foreigners, someone is always out to get him. Because of his persecution complex, the military courts cannot proceed without his participation. At the second (prosecutor's) hearing, one family noticed that their own appointed lawyer was not present and in his place sat someone they had never laid eyes on. In the back of the gallery they whispered among themselves, "Maybe this unknown person is no lawyer at all, but an operative from one of the KCIA sections." Their own lawyer was completely uninformed of the court proceedings. Trials without relatives present as observers are most common. When the judge asks if defendants wish to call a lawyer, some simply decline the offer. "Very well," says the judge, with complete confidence in the fairness of the procedures. A supremely strange court of justice it is.

Recently I came into possession of a report on this unique system of law enforcement, some six or seven pages written by students now hiding underground. It begins with an historical outline of student resistance against the Park regime. In demonstrating against the 1965 ROK-Japan normalization talks, for instance, the students were concerned about the possibility of Japanese domination of the Korean economy; that seems now a reality. The report recounts the criticism and resistance of students against corruption and illegal elections, the 1969 constitutional revision allowing the president to run for a third term, compulsory military training on campuses, and illegal practices in the 1971 election. Their protests represented "the single clear voice of the people" because "only

the students were free to raise shouts of opposition.” But, in the end, “we were powerless against Park’s use of force,” concludes the report. “Park’s politics are hated by the Korean people [who are]... always ready to resist when possible.” Then came the October Revitalization of 1972 that imposed a dictatorial constitution on Korea, and a year later the popular call for the “restoration of democracy” and “abolition of the oppressive constitution.” That call came during the mild thaw in the government’s attitude when “dialogue” was permitted—a lull that ended quickly with the January 1974 Emergency Decrees. Subsequent planning for new demonstrations are then described:

Plans for spring 1974 were made in secret. We had learned in 1973 how crucial was interuniversity communication, and so we gathered representatives from all major campuses to map out a secret plan. But the KCIA was too strong and too well organized. Two or three students were arrested and tortured, and the KCIA then knew all it needed to counter our projected April 3 (1974) mass demonstration. The police and KCIA made their move before the demonstration got under way, indeed, before most students gathered. Two or three campuses did manage to begin, but we were completely overpowered by the police. More than 1,300 were arrested, none were permitted to contact families or lawyers, and many were beaten and tortured.

The report then traces the process through which the KCIA pinned fabricated charges of “plotting a communist revolution” on the National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students, and how groups or individuals thought threatening to KCIA power were tied into the case.

First the KCIA framed a group of adults as ringleaders; they were said to belong to a progressive political organization called the “People’s Revolutionary Party.” Two liberal-minded Japanese were also woven into the alleged plot. The entire staff of the Korean Student Christian Federation were charged

with having communist connections.

On the eight PRP “members” sentenced to death, the report provides detailed analyses of their backgrounds, beliefs, and relations with the student movement. It concludes:

The KCIA says these men must die because they are communists, enemies of the state who plotted a bloody revolution. They certainly came from all levels of Korean life, some from well-to-do homes, others from the middle and lower classes. They all have some history of political activity, of trying to express the anxieties felt by students and the public alike over the corruption and oppression perpetrated by the nation’s ruling elite. But in their discussions and plans there is not one word about a “bloody overthrow of the government.” They stressed reforms and sought democratic freedom, but never communism. Into their legitimate efforts to express concern for the course of our nation the KCIA interjected its own paranoia toward communism. The “communist conspiracy” is a fiction of a government afraid of its own people.

Park Chung Hee can no longer deceive the people. Why, then, does he remain in power despite their persistent opposition? The students’ report offers three reasons: 1) since his 1961 coup Park has skillfully manipulated the army; 2) he has the continued support of the Japanese government and capitalists, as well as that of the U.S. and various international organs; and 3) he cleverly turns the people’s fear of communism into support for his regime. “Anyone who attempts to bring about change in the present situation is labeled ‘communist’, arrested, beaten, and often tortured. The threat of invasion from the North is exploited. No tool is so effectively used as is the ‘communist’ charge.”

The report points out that Emergency Decree No. 4, with provision for the death penalty, was prepared before the April 3 demonstration. “The speed with which the decree was issued that evening shows that it was drawn up beforehand.” Likewise, the KCIA had already condemned the students’ plans as “a bloody

revolution linked to communism.” On the nature of the subsequent trials, the report says:

Everything from indictments to sentences was rigged. Army officers under orders from President Park and the KCIA sat as judges. Statements exacted by torture were accepted in court without question. All defendants without exception insisted the statements were false, but the court paid no heed. Not a single witness appeared in court; the prosecutor merely presented taped testimonies by witnesses ensconced in hotel rooms. To protect their clients’ rights, the defense lawyers criticized the court’s irresponsible procedures; but of course risked arrest if they overdid it, as one⁴⁹ was on charges of violating the Anti-Communist Law.

The report’s final passage on prospects for the future sounds a very tragic note:

The power of President Park and his government is that of a bygone age. But we refuse to live in the past. We are embarked on a new road that leads to the building of a new society in our land. The more this dictatorship oppresses us, the more determined we are to resist it. Ours are not the words and actions of a few hotheads or extremists but of the majority of the students and people. Their self-understanding and awareness are raised by means of our actions. By suppressing us, the government only heightens our resolve and hastens its own end.

Upon receiving the death sentence, one student spoke to the military judge, “It is unjust that I must die on a fraudulent communist conviction. But I am prepared to die, for history will surely vindicate me.”

We have all made our peace with death. This dictatorship cannot be dislodged by legal means. The law now conforms entirely to President Park’s orders and KCIA violence. Only our death or imprisonment can arouse the people to exert pressures that will bring down the dictatorship. For us, the

new society has already begun inside prison.

Morale is high among imprisoned youth. On the walls of one cell someone scrawled, "I'd rather die than kneel before him." Wisdom deepens with prison life. They keep in touch and share news. Unjust treatment by the guards leads to collective fasting. Christian students make tiny crosses out of whatever is handy, hide them in their hair, and look for a chance to slip one to some friend as an encouragement. Throwing more youths into jail serves only to reinforce their mutual support and struggle. They have set the day for their release from prison as the day the Park regime falls.

In retrospect

(Aug. 8)

Today is the first anniversary of the KCIA's abduction of Kim Dae Jung from a Tokyo hotel. Though carried out by thugs in broad daylight in a major capital city, some persons have since said publicly that the incident had no great significance. One Japanese politician clearly expressed support for Korea as a democratic country, whatever may happen there.⁵⁰ Others thought some skillful "political solution" of the Kim Dae Jung affair could be arranged to smooth over ROK-Japan relations. Still others took the opposite view, that ROK-Japan relations would become soured and the outlook in Korea increasingly dismal. Who read the signs best? Today two Japanese languish in our jails, and it seems many were rather shortsighted in gauging history.

Is it wrong to say that Japan today is getting deeper and deeper into a quagmire in its relations with Korea? The further one goes with evil men, the muddier the road gets. Who are Japan's real friends, those who cling uncritically or those who offer constructive criticism? If Japanese businessmen think Park's rule by violence holds out some promise of "advantage," they may find themselves sinking into the quagmire permanently. Those who care about restoring the lost freedoms of our brothers in jail had better realize that healthy ROK-Japan relations will become possible only when the Park regime is replaced. With two Japanese imprisoned here,

what comes next? Already there is a tendency to treat Japanese differently from other foreigners, more severely and at times high-handedly, because the underside of our sense of inferiority is always anger. Harassment of Japanese by the ROK government eventually affects us too.

He who does not respect himself is not respected by others. In the Kim Dae Jung affair, Japan is understood to have placed economic profits ahead of human rights. Arrest of the two Japanese was willful and capricious; why has no firm word of protest been heard? Naturally, the ROK government thinks it can discriminate against Japanese citizens with impunity. The abuse of Kim Dae Jung hardly affects only Korea. The nature of Japanese politics has also been exposed to world view. The faster the Park regime declines, the more quickly is Japan's political life nakedly exposed. Japanese statesmen appear far too shortsighted to concern themselves with enhancing international respect for Japan. The Park regime grows unbearably foul, but Japan is unbelievably servile.

America, on the other hand, has won new respect among thoughtful Koreans, mainly due to the protest against the inhumane Park regime implied in the congressional decision to reduce aid to Korea. Such an action aids the Korean people. How different is Japan, feigning protest while calmly and openly conceding its disinclination to forfeit friendly and profitable ties with the ROK government—despite the direct affront to Japanese sovereignty in the abduction of Kim Dae Jung from its capital city and the incarceration of two of its citizens.

Few Koreans criticize America for reducing its aid. The fault is on our side. Leaders in the Korean Christian churches have been urged to criticize the U.S., but are said to have declined with expressions of utter disbelief that such action is even considered possible at this stage. Many Koreans hope that American pressures will close the book on Park Chung Hee's savagery, indeed, see American initiatives as the only hope of subduing the Park regime.

The newspapers have recently begun printing a variety of news

items. The arrival of the five-man team of the International Committee to Save Kim Chi Ha [G. Wald, Hidaka Rokurō, and others] from America and Japan, for example, was briefly noted. Nothing like this ever appeared in print before. The people therefore turn to the small items rather than the headline stories for information and encouragement. Still, it is odd that such tidbits are printed at all. Perhaps oppression has become so stereotyped that the media are feeling out possibilities along new lines. Given a slightly critical stance, a newspaper can look for openings. If it goes too far, of course, the heavy hand of suppression, perhaps a new decree, will come crashing down. Actually, few government officials and investigative agencies believe any longer in the legitimacy of their work, and move only when the chief yells at them. They do as they are told, but with an air of entreating the people's forbearance. This is probably one reason why the media are showing signs of new life.

Far more important, though, is the change in American attitudes. The fact that U.S. congressional debates on Korea are never reported in Korean newspapers in itself reveals the tyranny of the Park regime, and that in turn accentuates the problem for the U.S. Our news agencies must report American news as well. But if they do, the people's cause will be strengthened—and that would heighten Park's dilemma. Apart from such international implications, the struggle for democracy in Korea could not survive.

Accordingly, the government is extremely sensitive to articles by foreign journalists and tries frenetically to identify their sources in Korea. Even so, many Koreans run the risk of meeting foreign newsmen to share information on the people's widespread suffering and treasure any articles which use their input as souvenirs to be shown to friends. On seeing one such news clipping, a friend remarked:

I'd like everyone to read this. We need more news like this. If our people knew the Korean democratic struggle is so highly respected abroad, they would join in the struggle more vigorously.

This man is a top newspaper executive, but says he never sees such criticism of the Park regime. Each newspaper has a special room that is off limits by KCIA order, and there news executives read materials on the North never seen by ordinary people. Nowadays these offices receive a virtually unlimited number of books on communism, but not a book or article critical of the government. What about *Sekai* magazine?—not a copy since October of last year (1973). Japanese newspapers always had stories blacked out heretofore, but lately the articles are so long that whole pages are often ripped out.

For a long time many of us have not kept diaries, for diaries too often led to arrests. Letters and other papers, at times books, had to be burned. Thus, it is difficult to do research on the period of Japanese rule. With no real diaries, and with many other documents lost, we will have the same problem in the future when writing the history of the present. For source materials on current Korean history, we will probably have to go to other countries. . . .

In a copy of *Sekai* that I had brought to him, the news executive turned to the serial documentary on the Kim Dae Jung abduction. “I didn’t realize this sort of investigative reporting was being done overseas,” he confessed, and continued, “This is a very valuable record—especially for reconstructing the decline and fall of the Park regime.” The thought that our scholars in the future must go to Japan for “documents” and “testimony” in order to grasp the realities of our present bleak history filled me with depression.

Let me close today’s letter with something I heard from a student leader. According to him, large numbers have been arrested whose names have not been revealed. About sixty percent of the student leaders are still in jail. Of the remaining forty percent, some fifteen percent are in hiding and are sought by the authorities. About ten percent feel themselves still in danger and are lying low. Only about fifteen percent can be considered “safe.” Not a few of these “safe” ones, of course, are still under suspicion and are

kept under surveillance or taken in for questioning from time to time. And there is rumor of another big round-up of suspects. Under present circumstances, escaping arrest is only a matter of luck, as there are no standards or norms for arrest or imprisonment. "Take him away," bellows the chief, and anyone can wind up in jail; "Ah, let him go," and another is left outside for a while.

According to my informant, the round-up following April 3 was quite thorough, corralling not only those openly active but also those behind the movements. Thus, all the core leaders are behind bars. Those now in hiding are completely cut off from the outside world because of the KCIA's extensive search for them. Because people are far more cautious now, young Christian leadership is almost totally demolished. The Park regime may appear reckless, but in fact acts according to well-laid plans usually decided a month in advance. This student leader was very pessimistic. But a friend present at the time stressed to him the international isolation of the Park government and further suggested that the time is ripe for revolution.

Take America, for instance. In 1961 President Kennedy opposed Park Chung Hee's coup d'etat plans. But here in Korea the American Embassy and CIA said that to oppose it was unrealistic. Today the U.S. State Department and Congress are more critical, as are the American people. So too, I think, are the American Embassy people here in Seoul. The ROK government is really isolated internationally, and a country as dependent on foreign aid as ours is simply can't go on like this. Winter this year could lead to a panic, touched off by fuel shortages. All the government can manage is stopgap, first-aid measures.

Can we only hope for national bankruptcy to topple the Park regime? How forlorn is the burden of a people with no way of their own to get rid of a brutal dictatorship.

'The battle for men's souls

(Aug. 14)

At Suwon, near Seoul, the government has opened up a new front in the battle for men's souls. Its campaign consists of week-long training programs with lectures from morning to night on the spirit of the Sae Ma Ul (New Village) Movement (see pp. 27, 73, 82, 127). Top government officials and leading figures in the business, academic, and journalistic communities are compelled to participate in the high-pressure indoctrination that, according to a senior friend, "is just like the Shinto purification ceremonies imposed upon us in the final phase of the Japanese era." Eventually the campaign's proportions will swell to embrace hundreds of thousands of youth. The people call it a strategy for capturing their souls, a cunning instrument of political control. Present controls are ultimately ineffective unless the people surrender their souls and basic instincts.

The universities have already lost their spirit, and a strenuous effort is being made to rob religious groups of theirs. Completely deprived of its original ethos and functions, the National Assembly is virtually dead as a democratic organ of government (opposition politicians comprise less than one-fourth of its membership). But even a moribund Assembly frightens Park Chung Hee, which helps explain why it has just ended its longest period without convening in Korea's constitutional history. Finally convened for a ten-day session on the 226th day of its extended hibernation, confrontation between progovernment and opposition parties provoked adjournment after only three days. Its end was hastened by ruling party warnings that arrests and imprisonment await those who criticize the Presidential Emergency Decrees even in the National Assembly.

Though reconvened by mutual agreement between the government and opposition parties, the opposition submitted a proposal for "immediate cancellation of the Emergency Decrees" and offered only to present concrete arguments orally on the Assembly floor. Under orders from majority party leaders, the Assembly hawks blocked all interpellations on the proposal. In yielding to the

overwhelming conservative stand, some opposition Assemblymen could only plead pathetically: "I was prepared to mount the rostrum even at the risk of death, but even this chance was denied" and "I would rather die with courage than continue living with such humiliation."

Prime Minister Kim Jong Pil's statements to the National Assembly clearly revealed how steeped in falsehood is the Park regime. A few of his remarks, without further comment, will show how easily men forfeit their souls:

Ours is a democratic state, and this democracy cannot be altered. . . . There are a few restrictions, but no essential differences compared with other advanced democracies.

The government has all along recommended to the Democratic Republican Party that the Assembly be reconvened, though it was not, perhaps due to unsuccessful negotiations between the ruling and opposition parties.

Certain foreign correspondents accuse the ROK government of using torture, but I want to stress there has not been one such incident.

The bonds of national unity are often broken because people who know too much talk too much.

There are foreigners who criticize Korea from lack of knowledge or misunderstanding, but I do not think our national prestige has been damaged by the Emergency Decrees.

There is talk about the danger of international isolation, but it does not happen so easily. A limited number of people are very noisy, but not everyone is critical of South Korea.

Apart from banning one or two Japanese newspapers, I do not believe imported foreign news materials are clipped or otherwise censored; in fact, it is our policy not to do so. Investigations will be made, and if any censoring is discovered, it will be discontinued.

Reduction in American aid did not occur because of the Emergency Decrees.

It is not true that criminal charges have been fabricated.

It is said that Kim Chi Ha has been investigated because of his literary activities, but that is not the case, no matter what he writes. Some foreigners have taken it upon themselves to compare him with Solzhenitsyn and cause a furor. It is ridiculous to think that they are really talking about human rights of the Korean people. Human rights have never been suppressed or violated by the Emergency Decrees.

Regarding the Kim Dae Jung incident. . . there is a lot of misguided talk in Japan about our having violated a mutual agreement; it may stem from some special conditions over there. But in no way have we broken any promise.

The news media exercise self-control in consideration of our realities; I think they are exhibiting sound judgment.

I am aware that some Korean residents in the U.S. are creating a sensation. Along with its representative to the U.N., the puppet regime in the North has, I believe, sent agents who have penetrated the eastern part of America and are reaching out into the western part as well.

Fascism always dodges the issues, shifting policies to fit the circumstances, and thus, like a disease, grows worse. Several weeks ago the prime minister said, "We cannot afford democracy for another six years," but now assures us we have a perfectly legitimate democracy. Not one instance of torture? What a brazen insult. "For twenty days I was subjected to electrical torture." "The KCIA refused to let me sleep until I could no longer endure it and wrote a statement exactly as they dictated it to me." "Even before the KCIA took me in, I was beaten so badly that later I couldn't make a proper statement." Were these testimonies by students before the military court, then, all lies?

If what Kim Jong Pil says is true, then why are the trials not open to the public? Why is the National Assembly not permitted to investigate the question of torture? Why are defendants' families not permitted to observe the trials, and why indeed are even the families kept under surveillance?

How different from the vulgarity of torturers is the unaffected

humor of those tortured. A certain foreign professor was shown the vivid marks of torture by a student victim. Unable to console, the foreigner simply blurted, "How dreadful!" The student responded, "I'm a country boy from a farming family. If I were home I'd probably catch it from my father worse than this, so please don't worry too much." The professor felt heart-rending anguish as he watched this student dash off somewhere. Are the sufferings of such students insignificant? This professor once met an elder opposition statesman who expressed hope that people of other countries would give support to those struggling for democracy and human rights in Korea. Then he specified how: financial assistance is needed for the legal defense and protection of many students; prayers and moral support are needed; teams must be sent to inquire and encourage; efforts must be made to see that the facts are publicized in foreign newspapers; and finally, where possible, persons from Korea must be provided ways to get overseas to speak the truth and be consulted. I fully agree with the elder statesman.

There are, of course, many obstacles to securing lawyers to help the many students facing court battles. Many lawyers abandon cases halfway through under pressure. Some say it is best to find an aged lawyer who is ready to die. Lawyers used so far have not been adequately compensated, and the longer the trials drag on, the more acute the financial need will become. Legal defense funds should be raised here in Korea, but anyone found contributing would be treated by the KCIA as a criminal accomplice. One professor described his present situation as follows:

I am followed by one policeman and one KCIA agent, and a graduate of our university who is now a member of the National Assembly has been assigned to "persuade" me. But nowadays, whenever I complain or criticize, they all just nod approval. They feel the same; they just have different jobs. If His Excellency today were to say, on a whim, "Arrest him," I could wind up spending the next fifteen or twenty years in jail.

Such persons are fully prepared for what may come, unconcerned about repercussions and eager to discuss things with foreigners. Both those inside and outside prison realize their trials and tribulations will continue until the Park regime falls. Short of final victory, the present suffering is meaningless; and without that victory, no end to physical pain is worth seeking. The same professor went on,

I want to meet more and more foreign friends, to make sure we are not alone and to make known our troubles. This is the time to struggle with resolve and religious conviction.

The dictator hopes to hold out for life, he added, but the people can shift their battlelines. One blow, and the dictator is finished, but the people can send in reinforcements quickly and repeatedly. For the moment many students have been put out of action, but from this fall and next spring many new recruits will man powerful battlelines. Even if victory takes several months, I thought, that is much too long to wait, for even outside the prison walls the violence and suffering are really no longer bearable.

Tales of prisoners

(Aug. 14)

On the 8th of this month twenty-six persons were judged guilty and given the following sentences for violations of the Emergency Decrees and the Anti-Communist Law: fifteen years (2 persons), ten years (5), eight years (2), seven years (12), five years (2), and three years (3). On the 12th thirteen more young people were sentenced for violating the Emergency Decrees: twenty years (1), fifteen years (4), twelve years (2), and ten years (6). Also, Bishop Tji Hak Sun, Rev. Park Hyung Kyu, and Yonsei University professor Kim Dong Gil were given fifteen-year sentences; Kim Chan Kuk, dean of Yonsei's theological school, got ten years. Former ROK President Yun Po Sun was given only three years, with a five-year stay of execution. Again, on the 13th, another thirty-six persons were variously sentenced for Emergency Decree violations and plotting insurrection: life imprisonment (1), fifteen

years (13), twelve years (20), and ten years (2). The avalanche of heavy penalties keeps falling. Modernization puts everything on a mass scale, it is said; in numbers of defendants and severity of punishments, modernism for the Park regime surely seems to mean doing everything in gigantic measure.

Bishop Tji's arrest (July 16) was a dramatic happening. Some eight hundred Catholics intercepted the car that came to take him away and the bishop's arrest was postponed indefinitely. Park Chung Hee had already promised Cardinal Stephen Kim to use discretion. Later, when the host of believers had gone, the bishop was carted away. The government wanted to display how easily its force could subdue the resistance shown in Bishop Tji's "Declaration of Conscience" that denounced the unjust courts. It is rumored that Bishop Tji was subjected to considerable torture. Up to now the Catholics have been largely divided into hawks and doves; the bishop's arrest has brought them together. On July 5 the Council of Bishops of the Roman Catholic Church in Korea had proclaimed a "holy year" during which they pledged "to do our utmost to recover the original sanctity of all men in Christ, to break down the barriers of human discrimination, falsehood, and mistrust, that all may enjoy love and peace as brothers and sisters." The conscientization and struggle of Korean Catholics may now be said to have begun.

The military court reports that Bishop Tji addressed the presiding judge as follows:

If it pleases the court to exercise leniency and pronounce me innocent, I shall henceforth keep my peace and devote myself entirely to purely religious activity, consoling those who grieve.

Such is typical of the military courts. They would like to erase from the people's minds the living image of the vigorous bishop who made the "Declaration of Conscience," and replace it with a compliant figure. Therefore we sought out secretly the statements he actually made in court. First of all, on his relation to Kim Chi Ha:

Kim Chi Ha came to me after undergoing horrible tortures, and suffering from tuberculosis. He was constantly pursued by the police. Receiving those forsaken by others is the duty of a bishop. Kim Chi Ha became a member of the Catholic Church.

As for aid given to students, what he really said was:

I am opposed to violent revolution. I supported the students' peaceful demonstration because I wanted the government to give heed to proper criticism.

Yun Po Sun's statement in court following the prosecutor's charges was also filled with patriotism. How, he pressed, could the 5,500 won given by the two Japanese men be considered a "revolutionary fund"? If it were possible to be punished in place of the patriotic students, he declared, then without regret he would gladly lay down his own life of nearly eighty years. It was a noble offer to sacrifice his remaining years for a democracy based on justice and human rights, and it showed the lofty spirit of this elder statesman. In contrast to this spirit, Kim Jong Pil in a news conference derided Yun Po Sun as steeped in "personal ambition" and as having "aided the communist-led antigovernment plot." It was a mean-spirited, shameful remark by a man who, in effect, makes this audacious claim: Yun Po Sun, Kim Chi Ha, and Bishop Tji all acted out of personal ambition, but we in the government think only of the fatherland.

On August 2 eleven elder statesmen and leaders of various Christian denominations drew up a statement calling for abolition of the Emergency Decrees, restoration of democracy, and release of all imprisoned students and pastors on August 15, Korea's Independence Day. As if it had secretly taped the meeting for drawing up the statement, the KCIA immediately demanded the original document. On August 5 representatives of this group met with Prime Minister Kim Jong Pil and only discussed the content of the statement; they did not at that time present it to the presidential mansion, as the prime minister asked them to wait until the end of

the month to do so. On the following day, however, the church representatives were invited by the American ambassador to receive a briefing on the situation in the U.S., including a report that pressures from the American churches, Congress, and newspapers had moved the U.S. State Department to warn the Park government to take a lower posture. This session was far more encouraging than the earlier one with the prime minister. The Christian leaders then, despite the counsel of the prime minister and KCIA, on August 13 presented their statement to the Blue House. This infuriated the KCIA and caused considerable apprehension among many church leaders. On the other hand, rumors are flying about that because of international opinion the Emergency Decrees will be rescinded soon.

One way or other, the day of victory draws nigh. It comes as the irresistible march of history. Japanese supporters, we hear, have fasted on behalf of our prisoners, and the Japanese media have begun to regain their courage. We are not alone in our struggle for democracy in Korea and on the day of victory will drink a toast with conscientious people around the world. That victory, and the freedom it brings, won through grief and pain, is the common possession of all. Has there ever been anything like it in all Korean history?

One more thing—the rebuilding of Korean democracy—is likewise a common task. The road to renewed democracy and to the unification of North and South Korea is a steep one. We must tread the way together, through all the difficulties, at times encouraging, criticizing, and consulting with each other. Is it not high time for Japan and Korea, along with the rest of Asia, to bear each other's burdens?

Tragic things

(Aug. 17)

The killing of Park Chung Hee's wife at an Independence Day ceremony on August 15 was a great shock. The newspapers and TV screens are presently flooded with this tragic news. The news ac-

counts express both indignation over the unforgiveable act of terrorism that cost the life of a gentle and wise woman and also words of comfort and condolence for the grief-stricken president.

But, as always, Korea sanctions only one way of speaking. Most people, like those in prison, are barred from expressing themselves, unless they are willing to take their lives into their own hands and spread "rumors and false reports." How did the people react to this incident?

Any human encounter with death is serious and sorrowful. Yet, for some, this was a politically-charged incident with tragic dimensions that lie beyond an ordinary death. Among those most vociferous over this affair, there is virtually no one critical of the Park regime. Though former ROK President Yun Po Sun was sentenced with a stay of execution before the killing occurred, KCIA agents are posted in his house, take all his telephone calls, and no one is allowed to see him or others of his household. All this is necessary, says the KCIA, because many telephone calls threatening to assassinate Yun Po Sun are made. If true, then all are in danger, the incumbent president, high officials, even opposition critics. Korea, it appears, is a lawless society. When control is exercised by emergency decrees, then the Constitution, laws and political institutions become ineffective.

More than anything else, we are obliged to express the deepest sympathy, but put quite candidly, this incident was brought on by the present situation in Korea. Those who live in fear of attack could only think, it has finally come. Those opposed to a permanent dictatorship see anew the need to restore democracy. But that door is closed, and scores of people are being sacrificed to the terrible violence of emergency decrees which are cloaked in "legality" but in fact are far worse than the terrorism of a single man. Is there no way out? Even the most conscientious people are beginning to whisper nonchalantly that terrorism may be the only means left, though they realize the political repercussions and reactions it produces. Thus it was quite a surprise that the assassin is a Korean resident in Japan. While grieving the tragic death of two women

[Park's wife Yuk Yong Su—Korean women normally retain maiden names after marriage—and Chang Bong Hwa, a high school girl in the chorus on stage behind Park and other dignitaries], this grim fact must not be forgotten.

One friend said, "Park holds on tenaciously to his lifeline," and another retorted, "The God of vengeance is coming steadily after him." One says that a democratic revolution must never resort to terrorism, and another asserts violence is included in the very notion of revolution. Depressed by this discussion, I realized that without a fundamental shift in understanding of the present situation, the road ahead for the Park regime can only get worse. Park will doubtless use his wife's death to prolong the life of his regime. Already not a few people are getting fed up with the spate of TV reviews of "our great first lady," and I myself have heard more than enough about how our "national mother" was an "opposition party inside the Blue House."

Some fear Park Chung Hee will become more fiendish, but a more pressing question concerns what he intends to do about Korea's growing international isolation and the fall U.N. General Assembly. Condolences are received from abroad, but as usual it is an embarrassing situation. Park will probably become more fiendish, indeed, and want more than ever to function like a "great king." Eccentrics are clever at protecting themselves; targeting of enemies and savage treatment are likely to continue. Some gestures may be made to assuage international isolation and domestic anxiety, but the obstinacy of Park Chung Hee will not change for the better. Tragedy will prevail until the people's will does. Like a vehicle going downhill with no brakes, every incident simply plunges him deeper into the mire. As one businessman with ruling party connections said to me:

The people are increasingly overwhelmed with the feeling that the situation is out of control. Anxiety grows daily, especially with things like the reduction in American aid. That was a devastating psychological blow, though encouraging, I suppose, to antigovernment movements.

To this he added two inside stories:

A group of high-ranking army officers met the American ambassador and made it clear they could no longer remain silent. The KCIA is doing all in its power to find out who they are, but so far has not succeeded.

The president's highly-trusted security chief was urged by a friend to convey to the president the unreserved truth about international reactions. The security chief exclaimed, "Not me! My head would roll!" The president stands all alone. Everyone is uptight; they just try to stay out of his way and fake it one way or other.

Koreans never take political calamities calmly, and this latest incident is hardly an exception. Thus, all kinds of rumors are flying around: strange that Kim Jong Pil should be away from Seoul on vacation on an important day like Independence Day; Park's wife is said to have been hit by two bullets, but why two?; maybe there is a power struggle within the regime. I do not believe these rumors represent facts, though they do point to certain grim realities beyond facts. Not least, they indicate the serious loss of credibility by the Park regime.

Thus, this incident will not be left to normal investigation by public prosecutors. It will be used for political ends but, in its more serious aspects, kept shrouded in mystery. The North may be dragged in, or Japan, or even Kim Dae Jung. So far no attempt has been made to explain who fired the shot that struck the high school girl; the tragic loss of her life is of far less interest to the regime than the need to preserve itself. Whatever the government does, though, is sure to be watched by the public with practiced skepticism.

In any case, the tragedy of Mrs. Park's death is made all the more grievous by political use of it, which deepens the suffering and sorrow of the Korean people.

SEPTEMBER 1974

The August 15 calamity

(Sept. 5)

The newspapers seem to prefer calling the tragic death of President Park's wife "the August 15 calamity." As background, it may help to consider how the people regard the 29th anniversary of our national independence.

One elderly professor suggests that the promise of August 15, 1945, was for four freedoms: in politics, society, education, and intellectual life. He then pointed out that today we are deprived of freedom in all four areas. Politics today is unilaterally controlled by one man, without reference to public opinion, and the people are entirely under the heel of government. Education is completely standardized from the top. Those who once wrote as advocates of freedom today conform wholly to the dictates of authority. Those who used to champion an educated middle class as essential to democratic politics now stress the importance of cultivating an entrepreneurial elite. Of intellectuals, the professor made this criticism:

They excuse themselves by saying that brakes have been applied to intellectual activity. But are the tigers of yesterday so easily transformed into today's puppies? Suppression always accompanies the exercise of power. More to be feared than the dark night, however, is the absence of lighted candles.

A man of lifelong integrity, this professor is justly indignant at the present infidelity of intellectuals. Believing trials and tribulations test an intellectual's worth, he says, "the man who hopes for a better tomorrow must pay the price today." We live in a

yet unliberated age that betrays the promise of August 15, 1945.

Such a dark view of our situation nearly thirty years after liberation from Japan is hardly peculiar to intellectuals. It is because a dismal outlook haunts the hearts of millions that hopeless resignation abounds. Still, no one believes this dark political scene will last forever. Its end may not be far off, but we are too powerless and lack the courage to hasten its end. Or we close our eyes, as if it were not there, to find some peace. Or just wait. Nihilism is widespread, and those who share some light and hope are few indeed.

What thoughts and beliefs are found where there is no longer any light? Early in August thirty-six students were released from prison. As they left prison the KCIA gave them this "friendly advice":

From now on stick to your studies. In particular, study Korean history carefully. Whenever power changed hands, it never went to civilians, but always to the military. Throw away your foolish dreams. Those of you who believe in Christ, just remember that Jesus said a lot of idealistic things, but even after two thousand years they remain unrealized, though he was a holy man. Yet only eleven years have passed since Park Chung Hee became president. . . .

The student who reported this to me chuckled scornfully, "We are fortunate to have such great teachers of history." It was just such "historians" who planned around Independence Day the "EXPLO 74" rallies that are said to have drawn together over one million people. The government issued a special EXPLO 74 stamp commemorating these evangelistic meetings, which opened with greetings from Seoul's mayor. Participants coming from the countryside are said to have received travel subsidies from the government.

At a press conference American promoters of this rally praised the great accomplishments of the Park regime, evoking hurried words of caution from the American Embassy, followed by

denials from these great men of God that they had made any such statements. Despite immense financial difficulties, the Park government seems to have plenty of money for promotional activities like these. Or, perhaps its financial bind stems partly from lavishing funds on such programs.

The rally was reportedly intended to isolate anti-Park Christians, and to show that, far from oppressing Christianity, the Park regime gives it generous support and protection. EXPLO 74 was rejected by many conscientious people in Seoul, but great numbers were mobilized from the provinces, many of whom said, "Whatever the government situation, what's wrong with gathering to listen and pray?" On the other hand, I met quite a number of more critical people who resented such insensitivity.

"The preachers simply danced to the government's tune. It called to mind the blood-stained declarations of pastors in prison—is it not they who have shown how to live according to the will of God?" said one.

Another complained, "Only when the government provides some real hope for the poor farmers will I trust it."

"If Jesus should come to earth today, is this the way he would take?" questioned still another. "Judged by the passion of the cross, this rally is mere ritual merrymaking, enlivened by members of Rev. Moon Sun Myong's Unification Church who were flown in from Japan."

At the time I just listened absentmindedly to these comments. Later I learned from participants that EXPLO had to pay a rather high price for its warm reception by the Park regime. When Park's deceased wife was laid in state on August 16 for the public to come pay respects by burning incense, only a very few showed up. The EXPLO participants were hurriedly rounded up to file by. Then officials in government and municipal agencies, as well as civic leaders and other well-known citizens, were pressured to come, including many from outside Seoul. One university professor related his experience to me:

Even so insignificant a person as myself received a notice

with the notation, "It would be very unwise not to come." I thought, well, this is at least one protest I can make; but they say the highways and byways were jammed. It seems almost everyone turned out eventually. I hear the movie cameras were rolling, presumably to provide a record of who participated. I suppose it was because word of that got around that everyone felt compelled to go.

One hesitates, of course, to expand on the sequel to an event like this. Conscience balks at engaging in faultfinding in the face of another's misfortune. Exposing the dirty linen of one's own country is repugnant, and there are more despicable tales than I care to speak or write about. Therefore, at the very least I shall not go into the widespread tales of long-hushed scandals concerning another woman in the Blue House, nor that of murky figures thought to form a private political and economic network around the deceased wife. But that still leaves much to mention, though one can write only by consciously overcoming certain aversions. Some things must be said, however, even at the risk of national shame or some cost to national prosperity. Or rather, speaking up is, I believe, very much in the national interest.

The August 15 incident was certainly shocking, and I wanted immediately to know more about the culprit. He could hardly have acted alone. Even for a Korean resident in Japan, he would have had to be quite knowledgeable about Korea. There may be something to what one news reporter said to me:

When we first heard it was an assassination attempt, our initial reaction was that this is another show staged by the government. But when word came that his wife had been killed we had to take it more seriously. Naturally there's a rumor that she was a victim of a power struggle. For the bullet to have hit his wife, however, seems accidental; too many elements of chance are involved. I can't believe it was carried out by the [pro-North] General Federation of Korean Residents in Japan. Would they fail to provide the would-be

attacker with a pistol and force him rather to steal one from the Japanese police? If he was in contact with any of the General Federation people, they very likely encouraged him. In any case, the General Federation people must be very nervous about it all now.

Rumors abound, as do possibilities. One is that given the complexity of the whole operation, there must have been a good deal of cooperation on the Japanese side, as in the Kim Dae Jung case. However that may be, public reaction here was rather mild. Anti-Park forces may have hoped for a cooler response, but people generally regarded it as tragic. That does not mean greater support for Park Chung Hee. Those who struggle for democratic freedom and cry out against injustice and corruption are, on their own grounds, still respected and supported by the people, and Park Chung Hee is still thought a savage man. One lady's comment is, I think, quite representative of general feeling:

As a woman I find it all very sad. With her husband engaged in so much wickedness and hated by the people, Mrs. Park must have personally suffered a great deal. In a way she was fortunate to die in place of her husband. At the rate he's going, he's sure to meet a tragic end. She's lucky to go first and not have to witness it.

The ladies with whom I was conversing wondered what move the villainous Park would next make. "If only he were human, we would see a few changes," they said.

Watching TV, I could not help thinking that the people are too good, or gullible. The television stations spent most of three days expressing condolences for Yuk Yong Su (Mrs. Park). A number of women are claiming to have been closest to her. They cry and chant elegies about how deeply affectionate a person she was. The same persons were presented repeatedly on all three channels. The repetition drove one woman to remark, "I'm getting sick of hearing that over and over." One reporter commented in an entirely different vein:

One weekly magazine claims the sky turned crimson when she died. And women quite unrelated to the government, or even to the president's wife, are overdoing the grief bit. Indeed, some are joining in the anti-Japanese demonstrations now to show their loyalty, in a bid for a larger role in public life.

The people grieve for an unforeseen death on the oppressor's side, and they grieve for the oppressed whose struggle for freedom ends up behind bars. Are they too naive, too dull-witted? To win these innocent masses to its side, entrenched power makes full use of the media. Those who resist that power are denied all access to public media. But the sense of justice and courage of the resisters will eventually swing the people to their side.

A storm of anti-Japanese sentiment

(Sept. 17)

After Bishop Tji was jailed (on July 19), young Catholic priests became more aggressive. Masses were celebrated in all major cities, with prayers offered for "the fatherland, for justice and peace, and for the incarcerated bishop." At masses certain scriptural passages were heard repeatedly: "Blessed are those who hunger and thirst for righteousness" and "Blessed are those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake." In troubled times, the longer committed people remain silent, the more vigorous will be their decision to throw themselves into the battle for righteousness. On August 26 the priests of the Inchon diocese issued the following statement.

1. We fully support Bishop Tji's "Declaration of Conscience," based on the truth and social justice of Christ, made at Myongdong Cathedral on July 23, 1974.
2. We demand that Presidential Emergency Decree No. 2 [establishing emergency military courts to try civilians] be abolished and that Bishop Tji and all pastors, priests, professors, lawyers, and students be released from prison.

3. Until democracy is restored in this land and the dignity and basic rights of man are guaranteed, we priests shall observe the criteria of the bishop's message and, maintaining close scrutiny over all developments, continue our prayer meetings.

At one such prayer meeting held on September 11 at Seoul's Myongdong Cathedral 1,500 people assembled to offer prayers for "those who endure suffering" and to express support for the Inchon resolutions and for Bishop Tji's "Declaration of Conscience." They called for release of political prisoners, an end to all suppression of press freedom, and the restoration of democracy. Signed by the National Priests' Corps for the Realization of Justice and the National Catholic Laymen's Conference, the September 11 statement avowed that "we have been commanded to realize justice, truth, and the love of Christ on this earth." The smoldering fires that sparked their action seem unlikely to die out.

Meantime the campus newspaper of Korea University had already opened the attack on suppression of press freedom. Its 700th commemorative issue acknowledged that the Korean press serves as "reporter" for the simple conveying of news, but charged that it fails to function as "chronicler" for putting the news into historical perspective. Thus, it serves as the mouthpiece of power and wealth. Too enfeebled to defend press freedom, the press in Korea is reduced to the role of an "unprincipled merchant," though it suffers delusions of being the standard-bearer of contemporary consciousness, which is nothing but hypocritical pharisaism. The chief editor of *Dong-A Ilbo*, up to now most vigilant in the defense of press freedom, had this light to throw on the Korea University newspaper's editorial:

Press executives who once fought alongside reporters to protect their freedom have recently discovered their own interests lie elsewhere. For these executives, newspaper management has become only a secondary, or tertiary, concern; they have turned their hands to enterprises many

times larger and more profitable, ventures which enjoy great "privileges," but for which they pay heavy dues. The newspapers cannot, then, give a bad press to the sources of their many blessings. Thus, they become the platform for promoting extracurricular entrepreneurial and political dreams. To expect them to guard press freedom is a foolish expectation indeed. Between reporters and executives, who once seemed to stand together, there has opened up an unbridgeable gap.

This writer noted that the era when newsmen and news management achieved greatest unity was under Japanese rule. The April 19, 1960 student revolt was perhaps another such time. The degradation of the newspapers began with the 1961 inauguration of the Park regime, which turned over a number of profitable enterprises to the news companies. In return, they pledged loyalty to the regime. This was considered "modernization" of the press under Park. Alliance with political power, far more than direct suppression by it, has reduced the news companies to their present lamentable condition. Disgust and protest are growing, in and outside the news agencies, but the corrupt politics and intelligence network of the Park regime have penetrated so deeply into all institutions that to criticize or resist any one of them is tantamount to attacking the regime itself.

Before Independence Day the media were mobilized in an unseemly touting of Seoul's first subway. Construction time of three years, four months and three days for the 7.8 km. run is reportedly the fastest in history. Here was manifested, ran the clichés, the people's strength and, above all, the intensive leadership of the construction chief, the mayor, and President Park Chung Hee—without whom, we are asked to believe, the "transport revolution" of the "age of subways" could never have occurred.

According to certain weekly magazines, when Yuk Yong Su drew her last breath at 7:00 P.M. on August 15, the sky turned crimson. Tradition has it that untimely deaths of loyal retainers in the past were visited by such good omens. An authority on

spiritualism assures us that such things can and do happen. Thoughtful citizens must have stopped dead in their tracks at this startling news. This madness is not confined to weeklies. All news agencies have a role in this tragi-comedy. Perhaps it is professional toughness that permits newsmen to appear as if they felt no qualms of conscience in writing such drivel. At a gathering where this style was roundly criticized and the question asked how they could write such nonsense, the most that the reporters could manage was a lame, "Well, it is a big problem." Wherever consciences remain alive, they can only denounce with scorn this tragic trading in lies.

In such an atmosphere the sparks of anti-Japanese feeling were easily ignited. Can the Park regime prolong its existence only by continually stirring up some new insanity? In a country where demonstrations can bring the death penalty, the anti-Japanese demonstrations over the assassination of Mrs. Park were given the green light, and the KCIA was fully active in the background, carefully planning each step along the way. From the head of a certain institution I heard this:

The orders to mobilize an anti-Japanese demonstration included instructions as to the number of participants we should produce. We were even told what to write on our placards and were warned not to fail to show up because the demonstration would be photographed for the record.

As the anti-Japanese rallies became fiercer, more people were rounded up to participate. Worst of all, the residual organizational patterns of Japanese colonialism, based on the "patriotic bands" of neighborhood household groupings, were revived to assemble and incite demonstrators. All sorts of gatherings were directed to conclude their normal meetings with a march in the streets and an anti-Japanese statement.

As might be expected, many demonstrations were encouraged to march on the Japanese Embassy (August 21), most probably according to a prearranged scenario indicating who should do so.

Those that did were provided with full "protection" and "conveniences." At the very least there is not a soul in Seoul unaware of the true character of these demonstrations. Even so, it is clear that the "August 15 calamity" and the "anti-Japanese demonstrations" have enabled the Park regime to recapture public sentiment. It is doubtful that the Park regime was ever before so successful in manipulating the masses.

There is a harshness in the Korean mentality, rooted of course in historical experiences, that fails to see matters concerning North Korea or Japan in rational terms. More than once we have detected a detestable madness in news treatments of Japan and the North in the days following the August tragedy. But it stems not merely from an irrational hatred that prances about ignoring reality but even more from all too obvious and base efforts to please a corrupt power structure and its chief. As one reporter friend complained:

After all, bad-mouthing Japan and North Korea is counted as loyalty. Korean correspondents based in Japan always pick up the unfavorable news items. When asked if such news reflects the real situation there, they are embarrassed. High government officials are personally aware of, and irritated by, the lack of wisdom in this course, yet the most outrageous ravings continue to spew forth. And public opinion is so easily corralled by lambasting Japan or North Korea. It's easy when we're shut off from the world and fed only one line of information. It's a dreadful situation.

To be sure, Koreans have an innate tendency to think ill of Japan. It is still not seen as a nation to be trusted. But, far from trying to introduce rationality into the Korean mentality, our politicians have always exploited this irrationality. No escape is so handy as the easy way of blaming their own failures on the North or shifting the burden to Japan. Syngman Rhee held on to power more by playing on anticommunist and anti-Japanese sentiments than by making positive, constructive proposals. The

Park regime for a while tried to survive on the slogans of modernization, national renewal, and economic growth; but these proved to be camouflage or useless, so it turned to open brandishing of the anticommunist and anti-Japanese swords.

In late July a big fuss was made over the piracy of a fishing boat by the North, but the government seems to have realized that such incidents are inadequate stuff from which to build long-term power. It apparently learned a lesson from the Greek colonels' failure in the Cyprus coup d'état. The tactic of escalating tensions by feigning difficulty with the North in order to keep the people in check may provoke unexpected reactions. So, now the heretofore unused weapon of anti-Japanism is trotted out, and in the process it seems to have provided the people with a channel for venting their resentment of the government's own malpractices. When the present furor dies down, though, the public will come to its senses and question the intent of this new tactic. Concocted tensions may afford the Park regime some temporary respite. The people have definitely been calmed, albeit by confusion, since the "August 15 calamity." But as their good judgment returns, the public mood that now sustains the government will then hasten its collapse. During the current uproar, representatives of Christian women's groups have several times called on the Japanese ambassador's wife to express sympathy and share her anxiety. Their actions are typical of sensible people who clearly see the link between "anti-Japanese" and "anti-Park."

Prior to the current anti-Japanese campaign the Park regime engaged in seemingly intentional harassment of Japan. The Hayakawa-Tachikawa incident is one instance. For most people, the sudden shift in attitude is past all understanding. A particularly well-informed individual inside the government had this to say:

One good clue is the phrase "October Revitalization," which everyone scowled at because it smelled too much like "Meiji Reformation."⁵¹ The pro-Japan flavor was clearly intentional. Immediately afterward, the president ordered the Japanese language taught as the second language even to

high school students. This represented a sizable concession to Japan's ruling class, but now that same group in Japan gives little heed to Korea's political and economic crisis. It is even doubtful if the Park regime can financially ride out the winter. Japan has chosen to align itself with American indifference, putting the Park government in a severe bind.

Short of resolving this kind of fundamental problem, no gesture by Japan supportive of the Park regime's domestic control is likely to be received in good faith by the ROK government. Statements to the effect that Japan's (then) Foreign Minister Kimura Toshio actually favors recognition of North Korea are not in themselves so alarming. But any moves in the direction of the North by Japan, and particularly by America, that simply leave South Korea hanging on the brink of disaster can only undermine its reason for existence. Out of fear that Japan will betray its "expectations" the Park regime seems now to be trying to intimidate Japanese leaders.

In recent demonstrations high school students are said to have displayed placards demanding "release of imprisoned students," but the placards were promptly destroyed. Only anti-Japanese demonstrations that trumpet President Park's "national unity" slogans are permitted. The government is under critical time pressure to restore normalcy before students can get organized again. But the students began returning to their campuses early this month, and there have been reactions from business circles to the steady decline in the textile industry and growing tensions in the Masan industrial belt. As if that were not enough, over five thousand workers have been dismissed by Japanese and American electronic firms based in Korea. Thus, the government's top economic officials have assembled business leaders to explain that political priorities come first and therefore the businessmen must be patient.

Meanwhile, a serious dilemma confronts those who have struggled to maintain a combined anti-Japanese, anti-Park line, because the government's kind of anti-Japanese campaign merely

deepens Korea's economic subordination to Japan and intensifies fascist controls at home. Conscientious people cannot join in an anti-Japanese movement which has been co-opted and converted by Park into an instrument for recapturing popular support. Anti-Park voices have, therefore, been further isolated. Moreover, fascist use of anticommunism has deprived Korea's intellectuals of an effective anticommunist stance, because the government immediately brands such as attempts by dissidents to conceal their own communist leanings. Now that the anti-Japanese line has also been pre-empted for official use, intellectuals can no longer speak out so freely against shady Japan-Korea political and economic deals and the way these fortify domestic fascism. Revival of the "anti-Japanese—equals—anti-Park" line is for the time being stymied.

OCTOBER 1974

A mother's prayer

(Oct. 2)

Autumn has come with its deep blue skies. For some inexplicable reason, Koreans feel a certain sadness in the fall air. Perhaps it is the sky's rich blue that incites this blue mood among us. Or, it may be the seasonal visits to ancestral graves, which this year were made on September 30 (August 15 by the traditional calendar).

The sight of groups in traditional white dress gathered before the semicircular tombs on hillsides under autumn skies accentuated by the burnished orange of ripened persimmons makes a doleful sorrow well up within us. Wails of "Aigo, aigo!" of weeping women drift off into the silence of heaven's blue. Suddenly it seems as if absorbing so much sadness has turned the sky so deeply blue as to tint the whole cosmos with pathos.

To simple sorrow over the departed is added the grief of our people's distress-laden history and the daily hardships of each one among the nameless masses. Our bitterness over human existence is made all the more wretched by the sheer beauty of nature. And knowing that winter's decay lies just beyond compounds the sense of transience brooding over all things human.

Sitting beside gurgling streams on mountainsides painted with bright colors under autumn skies, Korean young people often break into songs like this:

Amidst frozen fields under wintry skies

Sun's fading light leaves in darkness a destitute town;

Where do they come from, those haggard faces?

And what do they seek, those eyes, those shriveled hands?

Oh, that town, that lonely town,
Town of darkness and disgrace, of hands rejected;
Where, oh, where can heaven be?
Is it there, in a green wood, on the other side of death?

The struggle for freedom goes on with the singing of such songs. On September 22 two thousand people gathered for a joint Catholic-Protestant prayer meeting on behalf of political prisoners. Bold letters on the printed program announced prayers "for Bishop Tji, Rev. Park Hyung Kyu, and all other priests, pastors, Christian lay persons, professors, students, lawyers, and writers who suffer in prison for the sake of the fatherland and for justice and the restoration of democracy."

The KCIA had little reason to allow the prayer meeting to take place. Catholic leaders said it would be premature to have a joint Catholic-Protestant service of worship. The entire order of worship, including a sermon, was cancelled; only a mass would be said. But younger priests and pastors objected to this restriction and, while the mass was in progress, interjected a mother's prayer—an inspired supplication that moved everyone to tears.

A Christian, Kim Myong Chin had seen two of her sons taken off to jail; a third is a mentally-retarded runaway whose whereabouts remain unknown. Heretofore wrapped up in her own children's affairs, she now gave thanks for being able to pray for all young people in prison. Her prayer, she said, was not merely prayer but protest. A portion of this mother's prayer:

Since our beloved children were put into prison, spring has passed, then summer, and now comes the chilly autumn. For several days after visiting our ancestors' graves, we mothers could not hold back our tears nor salve the heartache. At times we wandered into the hills, at times we cried out to you, O God. We have stayed up all night to put our tearful pleas before you, dear God. . . .

Our children did not seek their own ease or happiness. They truly loved their neighbors. Some of them tutored the poor

children of the Yonhidong slums in the evening. Some befriended kids selling newspapers on the streets, teaching them Your Word and comforting them. Some extended friendship to orphans. Trying to live with integrity in the light of Your Word, hating injustice and rightly dividing truth from falsehood, they sought to practice Your love. Even now I give thanks to Thee when I hear how, in prison, they spread Your Word and share every morsel of bread. . . .

O God, have mercy on the mother of Hwang In Sung, who, because people in the countryside mistakenly regard her family as communists, tried to take her own life. Have mercy on the mother of Kim Kyoung Nam, who supports her son as a day-laborer; give her strength. The mother of Kim Young Joon has passed away without even a last chance to see her son; we hear he cried and refused to eat for five days. Many, many more mothers are in deep distress. . . . When cold winds blow and rain falls, we cannot sleep for thinking of our sons. When we chance to meet our sons' close friends on the street, our throats choke up so that no words come. How can we sit each day at our family tables and not think of our sons?

Have mercy, O God, on this nation, this people. Forgive us for all our sins in times past when we thought only of our own children, of feeding and clothing them well. . . . Forgive us for desiring for our children only what this world calls success. Forgive us for failing to be good neighbors to the many poor people right before our eyes. Thank you, God, for teaching us through our own loved ones what it is You want of us mothers—to love every child as we love our own. . . .

This is the kind of deep faith that permeates our land today. It is said, "Troubled times give birth to great persons." The repressive Park regime is producing noble mothers whose historical significance is great even if they are few in number. Catholic priests have formed an Association of Young Priests for Peace. There is a search afoot in the resistance struggle for a new mode

of church existence. Almost all church telephones are said to be tapped, and all church mail intercepted and inspected. But among the people rumors have begun to spread that this age of darkness may come to an end in about two months.

So, with the coming of autumn the signals of resistance have flared up. It appears that public sentiment will prompt even greater protests. A certain church leader described the atmosphere at the general assembly of his denomination:

The assembly declared the political prisoners are bearing the suffering of Christ, and called forcefully for the return of democracy. It said everything that needs to be said. Some persons close to the government were present, but they too yielded to the dominant mood so that all statements were adopted unanimously. Seminary students came with their heads shaven to observe carefully the proceedings. A petition for release of imprisoned students, despite current restrictions, is said to have been signed by virtually all of the Ewha University students. In the face of intimidation, and even death, they refuse to back down.

Perhaps this is how it is with all the Korean people. The KCIA seems particularly worried that the Catholics are becoming more aggressive. It was thought that releasing Bishop Tji and Kim Chi Ha on medical parole might calm things down, but to a bishop who conveyed this opinion to these two men, they replied defiantly:

What! Release only us for medical reasons? If all were paroled, how many do you think could walk out of prison on their own two feet? If we all couldn't face life inside prison, we would have remained silent outside in the first place. We went to prison to win a victory for democracy.

Aftereffects of the anti-Japanese campaign

(Oct. 2)

The anti-Japanese furor stirred up in response to the "August 15 calamity" has had considerable unpleasant aftereffects. Even President Park spoke his mind confidentially to a foreign correspondent, and from what we have learned of his views through certain channels, four points stand out.

First of all, during the recent anti-Japanese demonstrations he was fully prepared to break off diplomatic relations with Japan. He was not willing to concede even one skirmish. More interestingly, he was fully confident that if it did not last long he could win in a war against Japan. Prime Minister Tanaka came to smooth things over, but President Park was still dissatisfied. Apart from Park's own ill feelings toward Japan, it is difficult to understand the recent anti-Japanese actions. He is thought to be neurotic anyway, but possibly he was venting his bitterness over his wife's death upon Japan. In any case, his statesmanship is seriously questioned.

As to how he evaluated President Ford's upcoming visit and whether Korea had requested it, he replied that a U.S. presidential visit had been decided upon when President Nixon was still in office, but that Korea had not specifically requested President Ford to come; only if he came as far as Japan should he come on to Korea. In any case, a Korea visit is based on U.S. needs, not Korean. Park seems to have made up his mind that the U.S. no longer supports his regime. Perhaps this is why Prime Minister Kim Jong Pil denounces Americans critical of the Park government as "pseudo-journalists" and "pseudo-politicians." Park attacks those who still place hope in America as opportunists who have lost all integrity.

Then President Park went so far as to say that it matters little if America chooses to cut off all military and economic aid to Korea. Aid is used too much to coerce his regime anyway, and in fact, political power can be maintained more easily without it. But, Park indicated in the interview with this foreign correspon-

dent, the U.S. cannot stop sending aid because it actually serves American, not Korean, interests.

Finally, the foreign correspondent queried Park on possible release of political prisoners. Park's response: Why release them? As to rumors that it might be done prior to Ford's visit, President Park merely replied that the visit and release of prisoners are two entirely separate matters, and he had no intention of letting the prisoners out of prison.

These views of Park Chung Hee carry some hint of despair. Rumors persist inside Korea that some conciliatory gesture will precede Ford's arrival. Released prisoners could, after all, be kept under house arrest and, as need be, picked up by the KCIA and imprisoned again. Families of the prisoners are worried that they will not be released until things outside prison quieten down as much as possible, to prevent the prisoners from strengthening the ranks of those still active against the government. Others fear the prisoners' release may be used merely to lay out the welcome mat for Ford, without solving any basic problems.

There is no reason whatsoever for President Park Chung Hee to relax his grip. His critics, on the other hand, are unlikely to abandon their resistance simply because of intimidation. The protesters lately have gained new confidence, possibly because they see through the enemy's defenses.

On September 18 some members of the Cabinet were replaced. All the new appointees apparently were not so pleased with their "promotion" and hesitated to undertake heavier responsibilities. Waverers were threatened with reprisals if they did not accept; since most of them already had ties with the regime, it was virtually impossible to renege anyway. Prime Minister Kim lost several allies in the Cabinet shuffle, and it is surmised that he is now somewhat isolated. This isolation is reflected in the fact that he had to go along loyally with the anti-Japanese rallies although he knew they were unreasonable. Foreign Minister Kim Tong Jo was the chief figure in staging the anti-Japanese furor to protest the August 15 assassination. As one reporter put it:

Park Chung Hee always carries out his outrageous schemes by making a fool of somebody else—who is praised at the time, of course, for his meritorious services. So, this time the spotlight was on Foreign Minister Kim Tong Jo. But his undiplomatic indulgence in “raw emotions” got out of hand. For the moment, though, he’s Park Chung Hee’s man, and Prime Minister Kim Jong Pil must stand up for him.

While hanging on to his position, Kim Jong Pil dreams of even greater power. Reform of the constitution is not impossible, but instead it is deformed by various means. Suppression of the people’s outcries is the only consideration. Park Chung Hee is, in a word, the kind of fellow who is insecure unless he joins hands with one power bloc or another. One view on his recent attempt to shore up his power base came from a reporter friend:

Though not fully confirmed, there are reports of two groups of military men, one of thirty-three and the other of twenty-nine persons, arrested for separate coup attempts. That resulted in the emergence of a group of relatively uncorrupted military men who, in addition to being anticommunist and anti-Japanese, are also somewhat anti-American. They are a rather simple bunch who accept the myth that Park Chung Hee is a conscientious man, and they harbor a particular antipathy toward students and intellectuals. Thus, they fully support the current use of special military courts and believe no one can stand against the power of the military. They seem to be the brains behind a strong hawkish policy for firming up government functions.

The truth is, though, that the Park regime rules without rationale or direction. Anticommunist and anti-Japanese campaigns serve only to heighten public anxiety—especially when a pro-Japan stance can change overnight to an anti-Japanese one. What change is next? Where is the government leading us? The people themselves have no part whatsoever in answering these frightful riddles.

Though manufactured by the government, the anti-Japanese movement definitely has intensified traditional antipathies toward Japan. Little children call out, "The Japanese are bad guys!" and if offered a gift of, say, Japanese-made school supplies, hold back and confess, "We were told not to use things made in Japan."

As one friend says of this, the anti-Japanese riots exposed the horror of a people cut off from all news sources. As a rule, Korea's only source of information is the Park regime. Mun Se Kwang (alleged assassin of Mrs. Park) was described as having acted according to North Korean orders and with help from Japanese communists, with nothing left open to question. Cut off so long from all other sources of information, the people were quickly inflamed to rioting. The Park regime is, of course, playing with fire, but the Koreans will continue to suffer the afterpains of hate long after this regime passes into oblivion. How urgent, then, is the desire for a conscientious, open leadership in this country.

As one who knows a little of the dark side of Japan's past history, I am concerned that our anti-Japanese display may provoke anti-Korean counterdemonstrations in Japan. Given the restraint with which the Japanese appear to view the senseless demonstrations over here, I cannot help marveling at how Japan has matured. It is only a natural reaction for anyone who recalls how Koreans were murdered in great numbers in Japan in the wake of the Great Kanto Earthquake of 1923.⁵² Has Japan, then, become an open society that no longer insists upon "an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth"? And yet, to my astonishment, Japan's ultrarightists, far from resenting Korea's anti-Japanese outbursts, give unfailing support to the Park regime. It is incredible, no, downright eerie, that no counterdemonstrations have erupted yet in Japan.

I should like to conclude this letter with reference to the weird spectacle of more than thirty young men assembling to chop off the little fingers of their left hands as a sign of the anti-Japanese fury. Seoul is afloat with rumors that they are all prisoners offered pardons and sums of 100,000 won to 150,000 won for performing

this act of "patriotism." Just like the news photographers arrived ahead of the anti-Japanese demonstrations, so nurses and ambulances reached the finger-chopping scene well in advance of the sacrificial patriots and wheeled them off to the hospital when it was all over. Later the "heroes" were visited by government officials and ruling party Assemblymen who, it is said, presented them with consolation money. What does Park Chung Hee hope to gain through such staged butchery? Could it be that he is out to fulfill our Korean proverb about forced double suicide, "Not only I, but you too must die"?

According to the government, the lines of mourners at Yuk Yong Su's grave in the national cemetery show no signs of letting up, because of widespread gratitude toward her—"she always stood on the side of the oppressed"—and their support for "national unity" centered around President Park. Thinking of her death, goes the government line, only increases one's hostility toward the North. All this reminded me of the unforgettable words of a country school principal:

I too got a notice, an order, to pay a visit to the grave of Yuk Yong Su. I had expected this kind of compulsory mobilization, but resented it being directed to someone as advanced in age as myself. Well, I thought, this is one small protest which even I can make, so I didn't go. I sent one of my younger subordinates instead. Of course, even now I feel guilty for having compelled another just to escape compulsion myself. For all I know, another order may come. But—and pardon me if I exaggerate—even if it means my own neck, this one thing I shall resist to the very end.

Are we so hopeless in the face of official coercion and violence? If so, we are already defeated. Coercive power that rests on the people's hopelessness is a hollow power indeed. It is precisely because everyone realizes this, that the determined struggle goes on, and spreads, as long as this age of darkness lasts.

Mounting anxiety

(Oct. 15)

Wives of high-ranking government officials and of top executives in government enterprises recently created a scandal by secretly importing jewels worth hundreds of millions of won. A number of big shots came under the cloud of suspicion, but investigations have since become stalemated—everyone in the Park regime, after all, enjoys such special privileges. The recently exposed few seem to have been used in a display of cleaning up high-level corruption. The big shots will not be questioned further, and soon will carry on as usual. They must simply wait patiently for the chief's command. His decision to pardon or condemn depends entirely on how the outcome serves his own interests.

Meantime, the newspapers report that some workers have gone for several months without pay, even in some of the leading companies. How are they expected to eat enough to stay alive, much less work? The miracle of the Korean economy, some say, is that though enterprises collapse, the entrepreneurs grow fat. The bankrupt Sakamoto Textile Company had ten million dollars and 25 billion won in uncollectable loans. But, according to news accounts, the owner (a naturalized Japanese citizen of Korean descent) says that he had paid his debts to this country because his patriotism had brought him back to the fatherland. Reports of such collusion with the government involving losses and special financing keep cropping up. All Korean banks are under direct governmental control, and the basic attitude of the Park regime's primary supporters is to manipulate the national wealth for their own private gain and distribution. The people are expected to support the system without a word of protest.

Ordinary people are most worried, of course, about high prices, about rice and fuel shortages. Reports of a bumper rice crop have since been adjusted to "above yearly averages." Newspapers have noted the irony between the usual claims of unprecedented levels of rice production and the fact that grain imports actually increase each year. Though floods in the Chulla district this year

were the worst in fifty years, rice production is reported to have been held above the yearly average (for normal years). Yet, at a time of worldwide food shortages, the prospect is that the government is sure of only seventy percent of required food supply. The government faces a desperate situation that could lead to rice riots. Moreover, the Han River is so polluted that water supply is endangered, and contamination by heavy metals has been detected in rice grains.

Orders for crucial export items such as plywood and textiles have dropped to critically low levels. The world oil crisis threatens our winter fuel supply. An effort to ration briquets of hard coal has failed. Housewives swinging coal-tongs demonstrated to protest the rationing of hard coal briquets and the poor quality of available soft coal briquets. Some elderly women are said to have been taken to court and summarily punished. A friend of mine fumed with disgust, "We have put up with hardships so long, our daily lives resemble nothing so much as crying oneself to sleep on an empty stomach." Churning out stopgap measures that deal only with the immediate needs may well provoke, someday, a sudden outburst of mass rioting.

Korean newspapers must refrain from full discussion of economic problems so as not to excite the populace, which, of course, learns all directly from experience. However, more space is given these days to foreign news. Our own demonstrations are noted briefly in the back pages, but those in Vietnam receive extensive coverage. Philippine President Marcos' statement "If the people so desire, I shall resign" gets banner headlines, as do outcries around the world like "ONE THOUSAND VIETNAMESE PARLIAMENTARIANS, JOURNALISTS, PROFESSORS, LAWYERS DEMAND THIEU'S RESIGNATION." Our historical awareness increasingly focuses on why the Park regime alone stands like a castle when dictatorships elsewhere in the world are collapsing.

Voices are being raised to warn that dictatorial rule and suppression of human rights only invite international isolation.

Such warnings may be critical of the Park regime, but the critics are, at the same time, deeply disturbed by the discredit inflicted on Korea and its people, thanks to that regime. The entire nation, not just the Park regime, is in danger of becoming ostracized from the free world. Kim Jong Pil, of course, denies that Korea is isolated and condemns those who make such claims as opportunists.

On Armed Forces Day (October 1) Park Chung Hee passed this judgment on the advocates of democracy:

The aggressors seek eagerly for some unguarded point within our situation. Those who simply wish to enjoy freedom as others do, and think, despite our difficulties, that freedom should or can be defended without restraints, are only visionary romanticists who know nothing of how the world functions. After so many challenges from and so much injury inflicted upon us by the communists, and while the challenges yet persist, for there to be anyone not yet awakened from this dream can only be called pathetic.

In connection with Park's militancy about retaining power, recent rumors have it that the ROK government is intent upon developing a nuclear weapons capability. Indeed, an exchange on October 10 in the National Assembly between a ruling party member and the ROK defense chief, contained the following:

Assemblyman: Is it true, as recently reported in a certain foreign journal, that Korea possesses potential for nuclear development?

Defense chief: North Korea is expected to begin importing MIG 23 jet fighters. We must strengthen our defense against this possibility. North Korea's submarines constitute a serious threat in the event of naval battles; therefore we are taking extra precautions against submarine attacks by accelerating our antisubmarine weapons procurement.

Why would the government permit this public exchange?

What was the defense chief's reply supposed to mean? The Defense Ministry's Science and Technology Research Institute reportedly has been allocated a huge special budget. America, however, does not favor Korean acquisition of a nuclear capability. The alternative seems, then, as in India, to seek Canadian cooperation. Japanese capital has been enlisted for this venture, we hear, and this appears related to the possibility of Japan itself acquiring nuclear weapons. The superpowers may be willing to export their advanced nuclear equipment and armaments if the price is right.

Setting aside governments guided by sound reason, what will happen if nuclear weapons are given to a bellicose, indeed, at times neurotic and unpredictable regime like Park's, a regime that spurs anti-Japanese riots by having prisoners chop off their little fingers? North Korea can hardly be expected to sit back and do nothing while next door one of the world's most belligerent regimes plays with such volatile fire. Park's intention may well be to extend his domestic power by linking up with the military in such a large-scale undertaking; but can the world sleep peacefully after putting such weapons in the hands of a crazy man? The Korean people have long been robbed of peaceful sleep by the military power already possessed by the Park regime. Will not the superpowers, which now tolerate the madness of this regime, someday be haunted by even greater horrors? A peace-loving, trustworthy, democratic political system in Korea was never needed more than now.

An invincible struggle

(Oct. 15)

The opposition New Democratic Party (NDP) definitely seems to have gained new courage and strength, though half or more of its members are called stooges and opportunists. Nonetheless, the NDP is currently marked by efforts to speak out vigorously and recover its popular image. At the September 7 session of the National Assembly, the newly elected NDP Chairman Kim Young

Sam pressed his party's demands "to open up a way for the peaceful transfer of political power through constitutional revision." Parts of his speech in the National Assembly are worth quoting here:

I am very conscious once again, in this moment of stifling conditions, of the people's painful look of longing for some change and, at the same time, of the warnings and concern of friendly nations in the free world for our situation. . . .

With whatever eloquence or appeal to duty it may be explained, the fact is that the revision of the Constitution under martial law in October 1972 caused a setback in our history. That October brought about change, to be sure. But it was not a change in government for the sake of reform, but merely a revision of laws to protect entrenched political power; not a political change for progress, but for regression. . . .

The government's measures of arrest without warrant, trial by military courts, and shocking penalties imposed for the "crime" of believing in democracy, clearly expose the nature of the present system. . . .

The question facing politicians is not how to rise to, but how to withdraw from the seats of political power. We have in the past witnessed the graceful retreat of great politicians applauded by the people. The morality of resignation from political office is called for today more than ever before.

He then attacked such abuses of human rights as the house arrest of Korea's only living former president and the court arrest of a defense lawyer—an act unprecedented even in the Japanese colonial era—and added these words on the academic communities:

One poet exclaims, "Campuses without freedom are cemeteries." If the younger generation who must shoulder the responsibilities of the next stage in our history is raised up in cemeteries, what will be the future of our country?

Next he derided Park Chung Hee's characterization of democracy's advocates as "visionary romanticists":

If freedom and democracy are mere romanticism, then what kind of "-ism" is it when those in power trample underfoot the freedom of the sovereign people, plundering and preying upon them at will? . . . Sovereignty in this country rests with the people. The president is to be merely their main servant.

Vowing to stand in the vanguard of the people's struggle, NDP party chief Kim appealed for constitutional revision and for the unconditional release of all political prisoners. His was an epochal speech, for neither he as an individual nor his party can now back down easily. The NDP news organ *Democratic Front* carrying his speech had a press run of 900,000 copies (far in excess of any of the daily newspapers and the largest issue ever of the party's paper) and copies are selling rapidly on the streets, though some sellers are being arrested by police for road law violations.

Two days before NDP chief Kim's speech, the ruling party picked up the scent of his strong attack and threatened punitive measures. But on the day before delivering his speech, Kim printed copies of it at his home and on the day of delivery carried them to the National Assembly in his own car and handed them out just before making the speech, thereby throwing the ruling party into confusion. Convinced that Prime Minister Kim Jong Pil's reply to the speech would consist of only lies, the opposition parties had initially planned to walk out of the National Assembly during his rebuttal, but abandoned this tactic, especially after NDP head Kim added at the end of his address that no response by the prime minister was needed. The prime minister nevertheless spewed forth his usual string of excuses.

On the following day, the 8th, Park Chung Hee called together media representatives for a confrontation to warn that "attacks on the Yushin Constitution are not permissible." He is always quick to equate "defense of the Yushin Constitution and maintenance of political security" with protection of his own position

of power. He cannot be expected to relax his tough stand. It is reported that he personally penned his Armed Forces Day address, incorporating hawkish statements that showed a serious lack of perception, statements which were toned down on advice of those close to him. Now he is thought to be planning a harsh crackdown on his critics among intellectuals, students, religious leaders, and opposition politicians, though even for Park it cannot be so easily done.

Because of President Ford's forthcoming visit to Korea, the government apparently is making a gesture of leniency to newspapers to run overseas news and opposition interpellations in the National Assembly. In the people's experience there is no reason to believe the Park regime would exercise lenience of its own volition. Increased oppression may push the people to the point of exploding. A rumor went around for a while that political prisoners might be released, but the nightmare of possible downfall—or annihilation—if its grip is relaxed prevents the regime from granting release.

The show of force that followed the Catholic masses in celebration of the holy year was shocking. Five bishops, one hundred priests, three hundred nuns, and three thousand lay persons calling for Bishop Tji's release, restoration of democracy and human rights, relief for the poor, and recovery of press freedom were all dispersed by riot police armed with tear gas. Nonetheless, the magnitude of citizen participation made quite an impact on the government. Great numbers of people watched from the roadsides with fear and expectation.

On the campuses, antigovernment demonstrations continue. A number of campuses remain closed. The Protestants are still holding Thursday morning prayer meetings for political prisoners in the Christian Center, with families of the prisoners in attendance and tears always visible. Outside, busloads of riot police stand ready. KCIA agents are said to join the prayer meetings; one wonders what they feel. Do they weep inside their own hearts while forced to sit in tight-lipped silence? Or, do they burn with

resentment for having to undergo so much trouble for people who gather merely to pray? One foreigner who attended confessed to me that he was overcome with the “beauty rising out of suffering” and himself wept.

The Korean Student Christian Federation has borne the greatest sacrifices. All KSCF officers, including its chairman, professional staff and student leaders, are in jail. Its functions are paralyzed, its office closed. This beleaguered organization refused to give in totally, and with families of its imprisoned members, it organized a gathering of two hundred participants. A “Declaration of the Cross” was issued to reconfirm its determination “to engage in protests against all crime and injustice . . . under any and all political conditions.”

The program was prepared by students who have experienced imprisonment. One of them, arrested on March 28, had been rigorously interrogated on the demonstrations that were to have materialized on April 3—presumably enabling the KCIA to draw up the emergency measures in readiness for events of the 3rd. Another student heaped ridicule on the irony of students being arrested for anti-Japanese statements while Prime Minister Kim is commended for the same, but humorously concluded that if the prime minister were arrested on similar anti-Japanese charges, then the administration of justice in our country can be said to be fair. The friend who passed this story to me also commented: “The students no longer seem to fear violence. Their earlier sorrow, tension, and fear have been replaced by humor and new confidence.” A spirit of not succumbing to violence has been cultivated, as may be seen in the portions of a “Prison Diary” recorded by a student jailed for four months:

(Date deleted): “You had an appointment to meet so-and-so, right?” They ask me such stupid questions! It’s enough, they say, if I clear up just this one point. The drama of dragging off prisoners was performed on campus in full daylight. Then we were led off to the slaughterhouses, like unsuspecting sheep. . . . What will happen next? Let’s laugh,

at the top of our voices, at a world gone mad. If we too must go crazy, then let's go all the way. A sparrow's shriek can't be heard in the eye of a typhoon. Intellectuals and students who call for freedom and justice are said half-crazy and traitors against their fatherland. It all reminds me of the scriptural saying, "Birds of the air have their nests, but the son of man has nowhere to lay his head."

(Date deleted): So this is where all the freedom fighters are taken—Bing Go Hotel [So (West) Bing Go is where suspects are billeted for interrogation—see p. 152]. Stripped of school badge and Student Defense League uniform and with belt undone, I'm led to a bloodied underground room to complete my testimony. The heavy iron door closes with a loud clang. A snug little room, completely cut off from the outside world. My hearts feels like it will burst. I feel like smashing my head to bits against the concrete wall. But, no, there's still much to do, things I thirst to discover. I'm taken outside to be cursed and beaten. . . . I'm given a match and ordered to do bayonet practice with it. Jump!, they yell. Advocates of social justice are condemned as those who don't study, a mere handful of students, undesirable elements, instigators, disloyal—every possible distortion. (How I long to hear the voice of someone who's not a mere puppet.) I hear a friend's name called over the intercom, see another go by on his way to the toilet, and feel my strength renewed. I will scratch "freedom" and "justice" on every wall I can find until the blood runs from my fingers.

(Date deleted): "How are you going to bring about socialism?" It's the interrogator talking. He omits everything in my favor and writes only what can be turned against me. My statements are only the backdrop against which he writes his own script. During a break in the interrogation I get into a personal conversation and try to explain the rightness of my convictions. The interrogator is standing nearby, and bellows, "Who're you preaching to?" He thinks I'm just a

hick, easily frightened. . . .

This is a page from a diary written with great restraint. Release from prison is tantamount to house arrest, since so many promises must be made at the time of release. Yet, there is a strong urge to say at least this much. The rest of us pray that their health at least will soon return. One student's face was so numb that he still could not speak; he bears silent witness to a painful experience in prison.

Three appeals

(Oct. 15)

It is deeply moving to learn that these letters have been collected and published in book form⁵³ and are widely read in Japan. Truly, the ability of conscientious people to carry on inside Korea depends largely on the strength of international opinion. We hope this support continues. We hear that the attitudes of the Park regime toward foreign opinion have recently shifted from direct confrontation to patient persuasion. Of course, it is a cat-and-mouse game, feigned and deceptive. Moreover, many letters are being sent out under fictitious names of individuals and organizations to persons and groups overseas in a honey-worded campaign to gain understanding for the ROK government. We trust those overseas will be on the lookout for letters whose senders are not clearly identified, as they may have been sent by the KCIA.

For the time being surveillance and interrogation seem to have replaced heavy sentences and the death penalty as favored tactics. In one pastor's estimation, if two hundred persons assemble to pray, fifty of them will be KCIA agents. If the gathered group attempts to move from prayer to demonstration, they will be arrested on the spot. Until the past summer the same actions brought twenty-year sentences or death, but these days they result in only one or two, and in the worst known instance, twenty-nine days' detention. In the strange world of the Park regime, disparities in treatment can be as widely divergent as heaven and

earth. Treatment depends not on the nature of the offense committed but on the disposition of those in power. Understandably, in times like these people turn to ancient, impersonal theories that one's fate is determined at the time of birth.

But being simply taken in and detained for a short time does not mean one is let off scot free. One is always required to sign some document, such as a promise to devote oneself to study, to refrain from making political statements, or not to participate in activities instigated by communists. Sometimes foreigners also get caught in this net. One missionary who said in a sermon that the charges against the PRP members and those allegedly connected with the NFDYS were fabricated and therefore their death penalties should be rescinded, was forced to sign a pledge never again to refer to the PRP in a sermon.

There are still some who cannot dismiss the more popular notion that signing such statements cannot be helped, and so one should carry on as though it were never done. One person, while confessing his sense of guilt for having signed such a statement, repeated his actions and was hauled off again.

The vigor of resistance is evident in an appeal written as a prison memo with the title "Colleagues! Act according to the truth!" that was passed out on the SNU and Korea University campuses on October 8.

The cold night air seeps through the holes in our faded blue prison uniforms. In no time at all two seasons have passed and now the pale blue light of an autumn night falls in one corner of my cell. For some reason I could not sleep one night, thinking of my fellow students. I grasped the iron bars of my cell window and swung myself up to peer out. The pallid face of a friend visible across the prison yard filled me with a surge of love for all the Korean people. . . .

O young friends! Look at our faltering fatherland, and ask yourselves—is this not the time to stretch out vigorous arms to give our land a transfusion of clear, warm blood?

Surely you remember the muzzles of those guns that in

October three years ago forced us off campus, stripped us of our briefcases, because we dared to condemn the illegal seizure of permanent power. Thrown crying into the streets, we stamped our feet and clenched our fists at the sight of our campuses trampled under the heels of military boots. And surely you recall the outcries of our young friends in April, when they returned from boot camp with close-cropped heads and army fatigues only to find our desks empty.

Dear friends! Let us take a cold hard look at our history. Has it not always been an existence of humiliating submission to stronger powers? Why should we now, once again, repeat that same mistake? The disgrace and irresponsibility of depending upon the intervention of some powerful nation to force the release of those who suffer because they fought for freedom and democracy is too deplorable to bear. University people are mere puppets if they must first get permission from university administrations before undertaking a signature campaign for the release of colleagues who fought according to conscience and justice. Have the universities lost their souls?

Through our own strength, effort, and struggle we must defend the democracy won by the blood of our forefathers. Students and democratic citizens ground down by laws that rest on one man's word are sending forth their blood-stained cries.

O students, who proclaimed that truth is not mere knowing but taking action—why hang your heads like cowards? Now that the truth of torture and fraudulent secret courts is exposed for all to see, be done with hesitation, cast away safety and comfort and stand up bravely! Take action for our nation and for our people!

O friends! Have you forgotten our cries, our common yearnings for our fatherland? Remember, warm blood still fills our breasts for freedom, truth, justice, love. . . .

We believe that friends and students who struggle for

justice can expose us to bright blue autumn skies again, that we can embrace each other and march forth in strength to save our country. O friends, when will the bells of freedom really ring boldly again?

More than in any past struggle, there is a strong sense of solidarity between youth inside and outside prison. The harsher oppression becomes, the stronger the bonds of mind and will. That reminds me of another tragic appeal and testimony worth sharing.

The wives of condemned PRP members, particularly those sentenced to die, have taken some courageous initiatives. In Korea's modern history, those in power have often labeled political opponents as communists to persecute and punish them. At such times it is common for liberals to keep silent. Our rulers have studiously created an atmosphere that brooks no sympathy for alleged communists. "Anticommunism" has been made the basis of all political control. But we have lacked awareness of the fate that readily befalls liberals when disposal is made of those branded communist by the ruling group.

When I first heard the poignant appeal of the wives of the eight PRP men condemned to death, I was shocked. They could not, of course, appeal publicly for fear of being themselves labeled communists, yet they have had to go on living under the stigma of their husbands' alleged communist leanings.

One of the men had borrowed money from a friend for his son's high school tuition, because he was so poor. This simple transaction was fabricated into an act of receiving funds for revolutionary purposes. The man was sentenced to death and his friend was given twenty years in prison. Once the household was dubbed "communist" his three-year-old child was tormented by the neighborhood children, who jabbed and "fired" toy pistols at him. How can anyone who suffers such social ostracism and persecution love this country?

At the end of an Amnesty International meeting, two wives

grabbed the microphone to make their appeal, crying out to brothers and sisters who respect the dignity of human life to help save the lives of the eight condemned to death under the Emergency Decrees. They explained that the charges of plotting a communist revolution were fabricated. How, they pleaded, could people who attend Christian meetings fail to pray for these eight victims of injustice? Faced with their husbands' imminent death and persecution of their children, these wives fought back without fear for their own lives.

Initially a few American missionaries responded to their appeal. Then a signature campaign got under way to petition for clemency to spare their lives. Appeals are also being sent abroad. Until now, the Japanese have not commented much on the fate of the eight, since Korea is well-known as an anticommunist country. But this is a basic challenge to the Park regime's attempt to carry off its concocted charges against the NFDYS as a communist intrigue. The KCIA and Park Chung Hee himself were quite optimistic when the charges were first made, but now virtually no one believes the charges are true. If the innocence of the condemned PRP men can be widely publicized, the fraudulent foundations of the whole NFDYS incident will simply dissolve. Naturally, then, the KCIA is making every effort to prevent that from happening. However, many Christians have mounted a movement to save the eight and are working and praying for them. Activities among Americans have, we hear, also elicited concern in the U.S. news media.

Of the two wives who made the appeal at the Amnesty meeting, one came under heavy KCIA harassment, collapsed, and lost consciousness. When she came to, she was in St. Mary's Hospital. When she got up to walk around, two KCIA men appeared but, at her loud wails, ran away. Later she was able to get to the Seoul railway station and board a train for Taegu. Reports of such valiant efforts made even me feel like praying.

Finally, I wish to quote a part of an appeal made in a written statement to be delivered to President Ford during his visit to

Korea. It was written by mothers of arrested students.

When you come, Mr. President, the Park regime will make every effort to misuse whatever statements you make. It will use every opportunity and each occasion to deceive the people and perpetuate its own power. The outlook is dreadful.

Prolongation of the Park regime pushes Korea deeper into a dismal abyss. There can be no stability for the Korean people under its rule. We implore you to consider this seriously.

Claiming that we revealed what our sons testified before the military courts, the KCIA and police took us in and subjected us to repeated interrogations and beatings until we lost consciousness. Even after we were taken to the hospital for treatment, four or five KCIA agents came to interrogate us day and night, allowing us no sleep. Nurses who saw more than ten police interrogators press their merciless attack upon us, broke down and wept.

Hope for the release of their sons inspired these mothers to appeal to the sound judgment of President Ford. The struggle is expected to become more passionate in and outside Korea. How much sacrifice, after all, must be made to restore democracy in Korea? How much more sadness of how many people must be absorbed by the blue autumn skies? Gazing at the deep blue heavens, I sighed with shame at my own weakness.

NOVEMBER 1974

A cartoon world

(Nov. 7)

A French literary scholar once said, while visiting Korea, that in times of extreme political repression poetry becomes more representative of the literary community than novels. How can people in acute pain sing out in lyric verse? Can suffering best be shared through song? Certainly smug, self-complacent jargon is no vehicle for either hardship or revolution.

Away with the husks, away,
April leaves only the kernel. . . .
And away with all iron
from Halla to Paektu,
Leave us only the fragrance
Of earth's breast.

This is the outcry of a young poet who died recently while still in his thirties. "April" denotes the April (1960) Revolution. Halla is a mountain on Chejudo island, Korea's southernmost extremity, and Paektu is a mountain in northern Korea on the Manchurian border. With the phrase "away with all iron" the poet gives voice to the people's fervent desire for peace—for "iron" symbolizes all political powers and ideologies.

Speaking of iron, Seoul is rampant with talk of nuclear weapons. The point of it all presumably is to resist the North and throttle the people by more or less permanently sealing the bond between the government and the military. On top of that, it is regarded as an effort by the superpowers to transplant their munitions industries in this land. Held in check elsewhere by peaceful aspira-

tions, the arms merchants are gravitating to bellicose regimes. Several thousands are already employed by the ROK Atomic Energy Commission. According to one report, weapons obtained through secret deals with a certain superpower are being transhipped to third countries in an effort to compensate through profits on arms sales for this country's lack of natural resources.

Given such circumstances, the poet's call to cast off the spell of "all iron" by extolling "the fragrance of earth's breast" is pregnant with meaning. Only poetic allusion can be used to touch on such military secrets. This poet muses in a different poem:

No, there's no place here for hate,
 While mountaintops are bathed
 in the sun's transparent rays;
Why harbor such dark and evil thoughts?

No, there's no place here for pain,
 While the wind's sweet music plays
 across mountain ridges;
Who can shed abroad such somber tears?

No, there's no place here for love,
 While yet a single breeze wafts
 across the heavens above;
Who can love the silk-robed city girl?

This poem of denial under the title "No" graphically portrays the tendency among Korean youth to become ever more engrossed in the hate, pain, and love they seem to renounce. Thus, from their anguish and struggle there break forth poetic expressions of their real political affirmations. So the students in their April 19, 1960 revolt proclaimed, "We are proud to join hands with those ringing the bells of freedom to break the silence of our dark night!" It was more a poem than a pronouncement. Likewise, the recent October 21 statement of Ewha students began with these words:

Today we lift high the cross of suffering,
 Bound heart to heart in resolution
 No longer to endure this dark lawlessness
 Wherein the people's very existence, freedom,
 and minimal rights as human beings
 Cannot be possessed or enjoyed.

When pain and agony can find at least poetic expression there is perhaps some sense of salvation, some psychological relief.

For ordinary citizens, though, it is the cartoons in the newspapers that afford such psychological relief, precisely because the comic critique is cast at the most popular level. The cartoons help to create a common consciousness among the masses, and by instilling humor into rage, provide a common respite from despair. Let us, then, introduce several recently published cartoons.

The "Chief": We must be sure journalists are not security risks.

Subordinate: That's easy. Just make sure they're all mute.

A: Our newspapers give broad coverage to the situation in Vietnam; but a prayer meeting at home, attended by thousands, is treated in only one or two lines. Is this freedom of the press?

B: Don't you know? That's press freedom "Korean-style"! [This is a play on the term "Korean-style" used by the government to describe "democracy" in Korea.]

(*A* and *B* are shown standing outside a prison gate):

A: Is that my friend coming out?

B: Could it be my son?

A & B: Hey! It's a jewel-smuggling wife! (Dropping their heads) And another! Long live the power of jewels! [Reference is to wives of high-ranking officials (see p. 244); questioned on suspicion of illegally importing jewels, they were freed without charges.]

(The scene is a government building; on other buildings, such as news offices, are hung banners reading "United we

stand, divided we fall”—student demonstrators were easily dispersed when divided):

A: Does everybody in this place always do exercises?

B: (replying from inside the government building): Our slogans are written inside. (On the wall behind KCIA agents and policemen actively engaged in drills is a poster that reads: “As soon as our foreign guest [President Ford] leaves, then we make our move.”)

Company employee: It’s November, so may I have my winter bonus [to buy pickles for the winter]?

Company president: What? So early? You want a clout on the head?

Company employee: But, sir, an honored guest is coming soon. . . .

(The company president, apparently having forgotten about the “honored guest” [President Ford], falls over in a dead faint.)

Such is the mood as President Ford comes under the banners of “American national interests” and “northeast Asian security,” and as U.N. deliberations on Korea get under way. Word is going around that imprisoned advocates of constitutional revision will be released before Ford comes, but it seems unlikely. It is also said that the U.S. government will exact some promises from the ROK government to ease up after Ford leaves, but if so, the Park regime can be expected to renege on any such promises. The excuse will surely be “worsened domestic conditions.” The regime can always induce such conditions, if necessary.

The Park regime, of course, claims it is the custodian of the national consciousness and condemns those who seek to appeal to world opinion about Korean problems as antinational or procommunist opportunists. Life under the Park regime is full of this and other good raw material for political cartoons. As, for instance, the twenty-four-hours-a-day surveillance of Kim Dae Jung. As if his home were under siege, an office is maintained on

the third floor of the building opposite his house; from this vantage point neighborhood control is masterminded. Once, just before dawn, a policeman fired his pistol, as if to harass Kim Dae Jung, though this was dismissed as an "accidental firing." But about 4:30 A.M. the next morning another shot from a playful policeman's pistol frightened Kim's household again.

Opposition leaders who questioned these incidents in the National Assembly were told by the minister of home affairs, "This is the first I have heard of such things, but I will earnestly investigate them." Of course, there has been no report forthcoming on the promised investigations. The prime minister dismissed the affair with like banality, "Kim Dae Jung's house is not under surveillance; he is free to go about as he wishes." But persistent inquiries drew from him the following day, as if he had completely forgotten his earlier remarks, these words: "Fear of a possible plot by the [Japanese] Red Army led us to provide protection for Kim Dae Jung." Thanks to Japan's "Red Army," Kim Dae Jung must be startled by predawn shots, and no Korean citizens are permitted to come and go from his home. How has this stayed out of the political cartoons—except for lack of courage on the part of the newspapers?

Another rich source for cartooning may be mentioned. Loyalty among ruling party politicians reached its peak recently when one of them proposed in the National Assembly that a "finger monument" be erected to commemorate those "patriots" who demonstrated their anti-Japanese sentiments by lopping off their little fingers. The monument would serve to remind later generations of these honorable acts. Did they really chop off their fingers? Was it all part of a deal? Had the Assemblyman who proposed memorializing the finger-chop read the report of it in *Newsweek*? Or, was his proposal made precisely because he could not bear to see these "patriotic" deeds utterly discounted by such "biased" reporting? There was talk of a possible cartoon on this "patriotic" proposal, but nothing worthwhile ever came of it.

As a matter of fact, political commentary on the death of Park's

wife keeps buzzing around. As this is the season for public school trips and excursions, the children are brought to Seoul and taken to her gravesite in the military cemetery on the other side of the Han River, where they are led in funeral chants. It has also become a favorite spot of tourist agencies for guided tours. Is it to be made a "mecca" of the Park regime? The story is going around Seoul that President Park relives his moment of sorrow by watching television newscasts of these graveside visits. Seeing how many citizens are genuinely moved by this story made me wonder if I had not, possibly because of my being too politicized, become overly callous about the human aspects of the whole episode.

On the other hand, what are we to make of the claims of the police officer discharged because of that incident? What about his report that on "orders from the top" a certain automobile was allowed to enter the parking lot for the occasion without proper identification? And what of his report that the police officer sitting next to alleged assassin Mun Se Kwang, who had no identifying ribbon as did other participants in the Independence Day ceremony, tried to protect Mun by shielding him? Why did such reports never come up during the investigations of Mun Se Kwang? Is it not true that the doctor who performed the final operation on Mrs. Park has since disappeared? The report that she gave out a loud and mournful wail in her last moments seems plausible enough.

These things call to mind the oft-repeated assertion that all intrigues related to the Park regime emanate from the KCIA and the presidential security guard. Former KCIA director Lee Hu Rak is said still to frequent the Blue House to give counsel. Lee also reportedly maintains constant contact with Japan, to the consternation of Prime Minister Kim Jong Pil. Park Chung Hee complains of being unable to sleep well and murmurs, "There's not one person I can really trust." According to one opposition leader, "The more worried Prime Minister Kim becomes, the more he seems to be trying to answer to Park Chung Hee than to

his questioners in the National Assembly.”

Rumors about the presidential security guard also abound. Suspicions of its complicity in the assassination of Mrs. Park are far from cleared up. Even the following tale reached our ears:

A special presidential advisor named Hong, it will be recalled, drowned early one morning while fishing. That was really quite strange, as he was a very good swimmer as well as a scrupulous man of high integrity. His son was rescued, but this man reportedly drowned. He had exposed corruption in the security guard in the performance of his office. His family is said to have been shocked at the sight of his body. His official notebook, which he kept on his person even when sleeping, was sticking out of his jacket pocket, from which the zipper had been torn. Some say that this happened when a professional diver pulled him down.

The Park regime converts everything into means to prolong itself. And the people's comments on this fact become more cutting and critical each passing day.

Educational and cultural authorities who get so flustered over student demonstrations also provide more than enough raw material for political cartoons. The minister of education has gone to excess in issuing warnings that schools which cannot suppress demonstrations will be closed. He is the kind of person who, for primary schools where achievement is down, recommends simplistic remedies like the cultivation of competition among students by posting their names and grades. Student protests, his pronouncements would have us believe, are caused by “intrusions into campus life by provocative news reporting.” His advice: “If students cannot study with the campus gates wide open, then close the gates until things calm down.” Where, ask many citizens, does the Park regime pick up such outstanding educators on whom to place the heavy responsibilities for our national education? Birds of a feather truly flock together.

Speaking of birds, while waiting for the minister of education's

directives on punishment, the president of Chung-chong National University (in Chung-chong Namdo province) came up with his own unique plan for holding student activists responsible for each other. First of all, students without a parent-signed pledge to refrain from demonstrations were barred from campus. He then paired them off, making each the other's guarantor and, in an original adaptation of the old "five-man unit" system [of the era of Japanese rule], warned that infractions by one would mean punishment of both. This was indeed a true five-man unit (two students, one parent each) because another, some professor of the university, was assigned as a further guarantor for each pair of students.

As is surely evident, the stuff of cartoons is inexhaustible. In the fall of 1971 students who opposed on-campus military drills were simply carted off for induction into the army. Because they had received two years of training at school before induction, they were discharged this past June, two months before their term of compulsory military service was to end. But in late July they received notices from military headquarters that their early discharges had been voided and thus they were to report immediately for reenlistment. Left alone, their term of compulsory service would have expired by now; instead, they have been forced back into uniform, just to keep them away for two more months from campuses where demonstrations could easily erupt at any moment.

And there is the incident of eleven students arrested in 1969 for leading a protest against constitutional revision that would allow Park Chung Hee a third presidential term. At that time they appeared in court only once; and now, five years later when they are established in society, they are suddenly arraigned in court again. One of them had died from illness a month after his release from prison. Now the remaining ten face retrial because, it is claimed, their court records are missing, clearly to make sure they do not become active again.

So there is no end to such strange happenings. One professor

even took leaders of his university's student association on an extended excursion to enjoy the fall leaves just to keep them out of demonstrations. Campus shutdowns, suspensions, expulsions, forced repatriations home, surveillance, arrests, jail sentences—thanks to Ford's upcoming visit and the focus on Korea in the U.N., these mild measures will be the worst we shall see for a while. Such nonsense, after all, is now taken for granted, not least by many professors who acquiesce in immoral silence. In the words of a student appeal to professors:

From the vigorous cries of the people struggling for freedom and trembling to be liberated from hardship and repression, please turn away no more. What happened to the professors appointed to investigate and evaluate the corrupt dictatorial regime? Don't let yourselves become foolish teachers silenced by a few pennies in research funds, giving in to government pressures, and suppressing and punishing students' activities by shutting down the schools. Can you be reduced to mere playthings of a violent dictator? You taught us to manifest freedom, justice, and truth. But unless you can set us an example by your own actions, your teaching evaporates into nothing, it can never be true education. Casting off all vacillation, opportunism, and defeatism, let us join those courageous persons who share the burdens of the hungry, the oppressed, and the imprisoned. With body and spirit let us stand up boldly and join hands in the battlelines to protect democracy and save our country.

A disease called human rights

(Nov. 15)

The word "democracy" is used in such strange ways in Korea that one wonders if its meaning (if not its reality as well) does not vary according to place. The ruling class has one usage, the oppressed another. Monopolizing all judicial, legislative, and executive powers and handing down death sentences on fabricated charges, the present administration would have the people

understand this as democracy. It once attempted to qualify its practices as "Korean-style democracy," but lately has abandoned this window-dressing and simply asserts that whatever it does is democracy. Reacting with astonished disbelief, the opposition parties, mass media, and students all base their antigovernment protests on an utterly different notion of democracy. Embarrassed and disgusted by attempts to speak of the present system as democracy, their counterattacks are mounted on precisely that score. This basic divergence on the meaning of democracy between ruler and ruled is at the heart of Korea's contemporary tragedy.

The same can be said about human rights. The Park regime claims to be doing an acceptable job of protecting human rights. Its death sentences and twenty-year prison terms are, it insists, aimed only at antigovernment plots and schemes. The students, however, and indeed the general public, feel that, despite such claims, human rights advocates are in fact being victimized by a tyrannical government. On November 2 the newspapers reported the gist of a lecture sponsored by the Korean Student Christian Federation the day before on "The Disease of Human Rights." The headlines declared "HISTORY STREWN WITH CASUALTIES IN BATTLE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS," meaning that it is precisely those committed to and calling for human rights who are the first to have their own trampled upon, who suffer vicariously for all the Korean people, whose human rights are denied.

A certain student remained handcuffed even in his prison cell; the handcuffs were not removed even for meals. On hearing this, his mother nearly fainted. Students recently released from prison were ordered to enter the army immediately. Sometimes students are released on reprieve, but are banned from returning to their campuses. They are generally in very poor health. One, whom I happen to know, drags his right foot (and is receiving treatment by acupuncture). Another has a swollen, paralyzed left cheek. I am worried over whether these youth will ever return to normal health. Despite all the evidence to the contrary, Prime Minister

Kim Jong Pil denies that torture is used and boasts to all the world that human rights are being fully respected in Korea. 'These are the circumstances under which youth, Christians, the media, and lately the opposition New Democratic Party wage their common struggle in and outside the National Assembly. They seem to be fatally afflicted with the "disease of human rights."

In the Anyang Prison in south Seoul 120 students engaged in a fast from the 20th to the 26th of October (taking nothing but water) to show that they have not been crushed, that they are prepared to carry on their struggle for democracy anywhere. They had no other means to demonstrate their commitment and dedication to democracy and their native land. Friends out of prison on parole but not yet inducted into the army reportedly visit Anyang Prison two or more times each week; but there is, of course, no contact between parolees and prisoners on such occasions. According to one parolee:

We also take books or money for our friends inside, to let them know we're close by. We just want to be in touch somehow.

Youth talk casually like that, though hot tears welled up in my eyes. The Park regime is more afraid of *their* kind, of course, and thus is very reluctant to let them out of prison.

The universities are still very much the center of the struggle; thus campus closures and arrest and imprisonment of students continue. When the campuses are reopened, though, there will be more noise. Students have overcome fear and seem invulnerable. Protests tend to focus on university administrations, though mainly to rupture their basic alliance with the government. On October 17, the second anniversary of the Yushin (Revitalization) system, students at a certain theological seminary held a "prayer meeting to commemorate the second anniversary of the death of democracy, a female laborer" [that is, two years ago democracy died, like a miserable woman laborer, with the proclamation of

martial law and the Yushin Constitution]. Completely corralled by the KCIA and riot police, the students can only mount limited, sporadic protests; a nationwide uprising is impossible just now.

Workers' protests are even less likely. According to one report, demonstration plans were dropped at a certain recession-plagued textile company when workers received three million won as a special bonus—from the Blue House! But the workers' boycott of the KCIA-manipulated leadership of the Korean Trade Unions Federation is very frustrating to the government. The government will surely take a tough stand, but overreactions are only expected to make matters worse. Stopgap measures merely make real solutions more difficult.

Christian protests, on the other hand, are increasing. Catholics are holding prayer meetings all over the country for the restoration of democracy and release of political prisoners, and some of these meetings modulate into demonstrations. After a mass at one Catholic gathering on October 20 in Inchon, attended by three thousand persons, a mass demonstration marched through the city's center. Antigovernment gatherings under Catholic leadership are spreading throughout the country, presenting the government with a formidable problem.

A vigorous rally was also staged on October 26 by two hundred students of the Catholic theological seminary. No one had ever expected these students to demonstrate, but they did, in a surprise 8:30 A.M. move (of which their professors knew nothing) to join students of nearby Seoul National University and other schools. They were halted on the way by a tear-gas barrage, but nonetheless enjoyed hearty cheering by Catholic middle and high school students. The seminary was closed for a week. All in all, the Catholics have mounted a strenuous appeal to the world church on behalf of "respect for human beings" and "social justice," as well as a forceful challenge to "thirteen years of military rule" in Korea. This challenge is beautifully expressed in a statement by the bishop of the South Chulla diocese:

The people of this land are really a good people. They are so

strong a people as to endure too much, so reserved as to give in too easily. My prayer is that this gentle people will be harassed no more, and that the sovereignty which is rightfully theirs will be restored, that they might be served unselfishly.

After offering up more than ten thousand martyrs late in the 19th century, the Roman Catholic Church in Korea afterward became quiescent, only to arise now with a deeper awareness of social problems. Bishop Tji's courageous stand of course triggered this new consciousness, reminding us anew of the importance of the great fidelity of individuals in history.

Important changes have also occurred in the Protestant churches. As the Korean churches are traditionally conservative, there was a tendency to view their early protests as the actions of only an overly politicized minority. Hence, the pioneers experienced considerable isolation and loneliness. But the churches could not overlook the imprisonment of ordained clergy; neither could they close their eyes entirely to the naked atrocities of tyrannical rule. Thus, the actions of a lonely few have grown into the outcries of virtually the whole church. The general assemblies of many denominations have issued unanimous statements in full support of restoring democracy and releasing imprisoned Christians, who are patriotic persons acting conscientiously out of faith and, indeed, sharing the sufferings of Christ. This escalation of the lonely cries of a progressive few into the massive voice of the Korean people has naturally driven the dictatorial gang into a corner.

Up to now students and religious people have been firmly yoked together in their commitment to a common struggle, and this bond encouraged the media to participate in the struggle. The October 24 "Declaration on the Practice of Press Freedom" issued by *Dong-A Ilbo* workers has, I believe, been reported overseas. The declaration had an instantaneous impact on the mass media all over the country, including many progovernment newspapers such as the *Seoul News* and most provincial dailies which are completely under government control.

It was strange indeed to see so many progovernment newcomers among the news agencies join in the mushrooming fight for press freedom, and the KCIA could hardly let their participation go unchallenged. Unless, that is, President Ford's visit and the U.N. debate necessitate a display of tolerance. Still, the whole affair gives us a very strange feeling. One senior newsman whispered this interpretation of the media to me:

The government was very surprised with the force of the *Dong-A Ilbo* action. After discussing whether or not to suppress it, the decision was finally made to ignore the popularity of the *Dong-A Ilbo* struggle. Once everybody from the *Seoul News* to provincial newspapers climbs on the bandwagon, the fight will have lost its punch. Then the newspapers can be handled in the same old way.

Herein lies the dilemma for the *Dong-A Ilbo*. There have been statements for press freedom many times before, but no real changes in reporting. The government and KCIA have always been able to resume their intrusions into the work of the media. But, to date, press freedom declarations have never gotten into the newspapers themselves; so this time, the pressure was on to run the *Dong-A Ilbo*'s declaration, which was done, not in its entirety but at least the main points, and that was definite progress. Consequently, antigovernment demonstrations also began to be reported, even if briefly. Coverage of the National Assembly began to focus more on the opposition members, and in detail, thus forcing them to project a more courageous opposition image.

One incident that added strength to the press freedom fight was Kim Dae Jung's participation in the November 12 Catholic prayer meeting for the recovery of human rights and release of political prisoners. Suspending publication on the 12th, the *Dong-A Ilbo* came out the following day with rather extensive coverage of this event, but apologized for its failure to publish on the 12th with this explanation:

The chief editor of this newspaper decided that the report of

the prayer meeting for restoration of human rights should be run as the lead article, with a photograph, in the middle of page seven. But one group involved in production of the newspaper demanded that it be run at the top of page seven, or else at the top of page one. Thus, publication was cancelled and no issue was printed on the 12th.

Of course, printing an antigovernment photograph was exceptional, a piece of the overall victory. And it was not "one group" but all the *Dong-A Ilbo* reporters that brought it off. Once this newspaper succeeds, others will try. The *Dong-A Ilbo* has been regarded as Korea's most conservative daily, but what is at stake has nothing to do with conservative or reformist policy, but rather, whether to guard the national heritage or not, whether to carry out the responsibilities of intellectuals or not, and whether to reflect the mind of the people or not. The upshot is growing popular criticism of the *Chosun Ilbo*, which was founded in the early 1920's several months earlier than the *Dong-A Ilbo* and has, like it, been regarded as a voice of the people. Criticism of the *Chosun Ilbo* is less toward its failure to resist because of repression than toward its transparent attempts to build up a charismatic image of Park Chung Hee. The suspected reason is that the newspaper's management has used the daily's pages to win special privileges from the government for highly profitable business ventures outside the field of journalism.

My own feeling, however, is that these two dailies serve Korea's needs in a reciprocating relation; at times the *Chosun* steps forward, pulling the *Dong-A* along, and at other times the relationship is reversed. So, the next time around I am counting on the *Chosun Ilbo* to take the lead.

Finally, I want to mention Kim Dae Jung's puzzlement over the problem of political activity. As I heard one elder statesman say:

If he makes a move, he will be killed. The government is calculating the merits and demerits of getting rid of him at

the risk of stirring up world opinion. While this calculation goes on, his life is spared. I myself experienced about a month of house confinement, in a country home with a spacious garden where I could putter around with the flowers, but even so I nearly went absolutely crazy. Kim's home does not even have a garden he can enjoy. I can understand his impatience, but I think he should be very careful.

So far this elder statesman has not been on the same side of the fence with Kim Dae Jung. But these are times when past differences are transcended in a growing national consensus born of the people's struggle. Being able to witness this growth in maturity makes me hopeful for the future.

The Park regime will pass away someday, and the focus of a new political era is definitely on Kim Dae Jung. Fortunately his future is supported by international opinion—as are the lives of all those who struggle for human rights and the rights of the people. People in every country are, to be sure, occupied with their own problems; yet, we must pray for voices of encouragement, raised here and there, however faintly, while expressing deep gratitude for all support and succor received thus far.

DECEMBER 1974

Solidarity

(Dec. 1)

Various mutations appear ready to emerge from the people's struggle in Korea today. From the people's viewpoint, the ruling class seems trapped in its own siege mentality. The Blue House, official residence of the president, has been completely converted into a fortress castle. To its rear, Pukak Mountain is covered with gun batteries. Many families forced to move out of its vicinity have had to seek new homes to the south, on the other side of the Han River. President Park's neurosis is reportedly worse than ever; it is said he spends many sleepless nights, often showing up in the middle of the night at the headquarters of the police, KCIA, and his own security guard. It is no wonder, of course, since his personal safety, along with the longevity of his regime, is his primary concern.

Meanwhile, thanks perhaps to Ford's visit and the U.N. debates on Korea, signs of resistance pop up in all sorts of places. Reactions of the government swing wildly from one extreme to another. A conciliatory posture is suddenly followed one day by a harsh crackdown. Or, more accurately, a letup is usually a time of preparation for a crackdown.

Through such trials and shifts the people are definitely toughened. Right now, a kind of quiet round-up appears under way. Those arrested by the police or KCIA go along, however, without fear. The victim is rarely held over twenty days, but upon release must always sign a pledge not to engage in political activity. Most of them resume their activity, however, after release. One friend remarked on this strange routine:

We're not afraid of being arrested. As long as the campus gates remain open, we go on doing what must be done. Unless the churches are shut down, resistance can't be stopped. Having grasped power by bayonets, the regime cannot simply abandon its power, but it's quite clear they cannot govern with bayonets alone.

I get the feeling that resistance has now become the prevailing mood among the people. A few days ago the government announced the issue of a new postage stamp commemorating the late Mrs. Park on the occasion of what would have been her forty-ninth birthday (November 29). Some six million of the ten-won stamps are expected to be sold. I was chagrined to think that Park cannot control the people without trading on his wife's tragic fate. On a recent taxi ride, the cabbie expressed a similar dissatisfaction. I reminded him that she was reportedly a gentle woman by nature and gave aid to many poor people. He retorted, "With her own money? No, it was our money she used to get that reputation!" So much, I mused, for political gestures using her tragic death. Even so, the government decorates her grave and promotes the symbol. But this vast gulf in consciousness bodes no good for Korea.

All that day I could not rid myself of the thought, hardly new, that something is really wrong with this man called Park Chung Hee. His lust for power, to hang on to the presidency, is understandable; but does he think that he can somehow reign over this land forever, even after natural death removes him from the presidential chair? If now he has reason to fear the people's resistance, does he not realize that when his time comes criticism like that of the taxi driver will spread nationwide? Does he really believe that erecting a fancy tomb for his late wife will guarantee her eternal veneration? Can he not look ahead and see that it would have been much better to lay her to rest in some quiet country place? He himself should have suggested a more humane gesture, such as, "She had always asked to be returned to her own quiet home-

town. Moreover, the times call for a more restrained and modest approach, given the 'threat from the North' and the present economic crisis."

Were Park capable of this way of thinking, though, we probably would not have so much violence in the first place. The Korean people have been tyrannized for a long time; they have little experience of being led in constructive directions so that their energies are effectively used. I do not think they have ever had rulers or authorities whom they could respect and trust, who treated them with due consideration. This provokes within them, consequently, a very strong desire for a leader who suffers and labors on their behalf, with whom they can work to build a great nation worthy of the name. Measured by this fervent desire, Park Chung Hee has lost all credibility—though he himself has yet to perceive it. The Korean people have little respect for a ruler who merely comes out on top in a power struggle; they prefer one who shares their burdens. Certainly Park does not dream he meets this test. On the other hand, Kim Dae Jung seems destined, now and throughout his life, for such a role.

Only recently have I gained some confidence that I really understand what is thought of as the Korean people's "sickness at heart." Several days ago I received from a girl student a kind of underground communication. Since early this year many persons like her have reportedly carried on their movement activities by moving around the country underground. She contacted me in an appeal for living expenses, one part of which I quote:

Please forgive my long delay in sending any word. As they say, no news is good news. Of course, I have much to report, and I also welcome this long overdue chance to inquire after your own welfare. . . . Since leaving home last January 8 [date of issuance of Emergency Decrees Nos. 1 and 2], I have lived as a wanderer. I have encountered many hardships but, like all my colleagues, have managed to keep busy. Nearly a year has passed now since I began living like a mole. Many

souls have carried out a great many activities in many places throughout the country, though even now we have to avoid meeting each other as much as possible. Many of my friends have left home to engage in movement activities. . . . No matter how much violence and repression is used, we are determined to throw ourselves, body and soul, into the fight for freedom for the sake of all the people. Every effort is being made to boost the struggle to save our country materially and spiritually before this year comes to an end.

Presently the government gives the appearance of having relaxed its grip somewhat. This may only mean that it will increase its repression in devious ways and thus, under the surface, will continue to stir up trouble. By the same token, underground activities will probably intensify. The stronger the people's reaction, the greater the safety for those underground. And the longer this present tyranny lasts, the less one can say with confidence what forms underground activity might assume.

Besides the solidarity between those underground and above, there is the added solidarity between those in and outside prison. Regarded as convicts, most young prisoners are separated from each other and sent to various provincial prisons to undermine their corporate morale. Most of them, however, seem to welcome this as an opportunity to extend the movement to the countryside. Recently I was shown a letter sent by an imprisoned friend to his mother.

It brought tears of anger to my eyes to see these very young students sent to provincial prisons far from their homes. I gave a blanket to one friend being sent to X prison where he has no relatives nearby. If you have another old blanket at home, please send it to me.

Mother, I give thanks to God that we can participate in the suffering and tragedy of Korean history. To endure these hardships is actually to share the joy of a new creation, of victory and progress. This is also true for you, Mother, outside

these prison walls. Please be a source of strength to the families of others who are imprisoned. Please do not look sad, but give them encouragement. Our hearts are at peace, as we are increasingly able to sort out right from wrong. You too, Mother, must do likewise. How can we, under present circumstances, even think of our own release? What would simply getting out of prison accomplish? I am convinced that the passing of 1974 has wrought a change in our spirits. Dear Mother, when you pray, please do not pray for our "release." Pray instead for our maturity and ultimate victory, and for the sake of democracy. . . .

The least sign of concern from the outside world gives a great boost to those of us in prison. Among us are some who have no personal funds and receive no gifts from outside; and some are really freezing because they have no winter underwear. I gave half of what you sent me to another prisoner. . . .

Although I cannot include it here, this letter also spells out very carefully the strategy for those who carry on the struggle on the outside. We must cry out at the top of our voices on behalf of these young people who must endure a "severe winter" of inhumane treatment.

People tend to grow spiritually, of course, when forced to try to overcome suffering. It is hardly strange, then, that these friends have nurtured idealistic visions of a better age and search for leadership to share their burdens. Indeed, professors who have long been criticized for their irresponsible silence are just now beginning to show some sensitivity toward their students' suffering. Some faculty meetings have recently issued appeals for the release of students and other democratic citizens. Prayer meetings for the same purpose have been held by professors—one a session extending over five days and involving thirty-seven teachers at Yonsei University. On the last day, one Yonsei professor prayed:

O Lord, we pray that You will relieve us speedily of the pain

and wretchedness that overwhelms us when we call the roll of our imprisoned students despite their absence.

Forced to close their campuses, the presidents of Korea University and Yonsei University, with a touch of self-scorn, denounced the current situation in the following statements:

Unable to open up a broad highway leading straight in the right direction, our university administrations have abandoned that main course and prudentially chosen narrower, calmer sideroads and back alleys, all the while discarding our own principles and thus losing our way. To the government this may appear odious, and to the students craven and cowardly. How much farther will we stray into the quagmire of this unending vicious circle? The future of the universities is gloomy indeed. May we be granted the wisdom to break out of the endless web of byways and set forth on the wide open way to what is right. (Korea University president)

And in more direct language:

We should receive favorably our students' appeals to suspend classes and the intentions behind them, for what they desire is for the good of both the universities and society. (Yonsei University president)

The president of Korea University made it quite clear that the students' activities involved the majority, not just a handful of students, and that there were good reasons for the unrest on campus. Yonsei University's president stated flatly that student voices calling for democratization and release of political prisoners must be heeded, and that their activities stemmed from patriotism.

Hard times breed solidarity among the oppressed. Even opportunists are showing sympathy for the cause, as the mood of resistance finds support among the masses. Undergirding that mood is a common sentiment, a common plea, like that articulated by a veteran poet:

The wind, gone mad, sweeps through the forest,
A bullet pierces the sky at will;
In the silence of gates closed everywhere,
Through seasons of heavy rain and scorching sun,
I wonder why there is yet no word from you. . . .

Images

(Dec. 11)

Encouraged by the solidarity described above, the Association of Families of the Arrested recently issued their own strong statement. Earlier this year word had come down that a group of prisoners showing compliant attitudes would be released. The associated families opposed this vigorously, insisting that all prisoners be released immediately.

We have learned from press reports that consideration is being given to pardoning prisoners convicted for violations of the Emergency Decrees, provided they meet certain conditions. However, those shown to have had connections with the "People's Revolutionary Party" and "spies for the northern puppet regime," or those aligned with them, as well as students who have rejected capitalism and "plotted the establishment of a socialist state," are all excluded from this consideration. We the families of these prisoners declare that if this news is true we cannot let pass unchallenged so evil a scheme, a foul trick that would make a mockery of all the people.

First of all, ever since the government through Prime Minister Kim Jong Pil on November 25 proposed the conditional release of prisoners, it has spoken incessantly of cultivating proper attitudes, self-reflection, and self-discipline as if to convince the people that their imprisonment was somehow justified in the first place. This effort, in a word, resembles the famous story of the "Bandit's Beating" (see p. 47). Our husbands, sons, and daughters are by no means

criminals, and have, we know, committed no crimes for which to be pardoned. Our husbands, sons, and daughters sought, rather, to prevent the absolutization of state power. We take pride in the fact that they endeavored to build a society based on justice and thus took upon themselves the cross of maintaining vigilance over our history. If we are truly to follow and work for them, then far more important than the discharge of individuals from prison is the way of faithful commitment to fulfilling the conditions upon which our husbands, sons, and daughters themselves insist: *"we will not leave prison until problems are solved at the root and democracy is restored."*

The Park regime's hurried attempts to crush the people's resistance has resulted in the callous imposition of extremely harsh punishments—death, life terms, twenty-year terms, and so on. Far from settling the issue, these hasty stopgap measures have seriously worsened it. The regime, therefore, is caught in a dilemma, not sure whether to stiffen or relax its grip. Of course, it has no intention of seeking a fundamental solution of the problem, which raises the question as to what sort of fitful reaction it will make. The above resolution includes a long section protesting treatment of the PRP persons, a radical departure from the previous reluctance to speak out in the defense of alleged "communists." The section begins with this protest:

As for the report that PRP members and students interested in building a socialist society are excluded from the list of prisoners to be released, we are appalled that the present government would stoop to such trickery and scheming. What proof is there that the PRP even exists? What is behind the attempt to frame students and democratic citizens as "reds"? Although the government authorities realize that the Emergency Decrees were a major political blunder, they still mouth a lot of nonsense about their cunning but transparently clumsy tactics in hopes of covering up their mistakes and

salvaging a modicum of justification for their deeds. . . .

Things have changed a great deal since April when allegations about the NFDYS led to wholesale arrests without discrimination. Does this represent some kind of victory? Whatever progress there may be is due, we should remember, to the impact of the many representations from overseas. These "outside voices" include as well the crucial role of statements made by foreign Christian missionaries inside Korea.

Of special importance was the effort of recently deported Methodist missionary George Ogle, who was one of the first to examine the tragic details of the PRP case. Ogle appealed to the families of imprisoned Christian pastors and students to recognize the innocence of the PRP persons and to include them and their families in the prayers offered by the Christian group. The heaviest criminal charges have been brought against those condemned for trying to instigate a "communist-led workers and peasants government" in collusion with the PRP. Should this case against the PRP collapse, the charges against all others would simply evaporate. Hence, the decision to deport George Ogle.

Ogle had long engaged in mission among poor laborers. He once sought, if permissible, to work in the coal mines in Kang Wondo province alongside miners to learn more about labor problems.⁵⁴ Permissible it was not, in the eyes of the Park regime. Thanks to the Park regime we have lost this true friend of the Korean people.

I feel overwhelmed by the volume of material that ought to be included in today's letter. There are several *Dong-A Ilbo* editorials I wanted to introduce but cannot, due to space limitations. Nor do I have time, and my health is not too good. Only commitment to my colleagues has thus far sustained me.

From December 9 the *Dong-A Ilbo* began a special series called "How's Your Life?", which was introduced with this comment:

With the political situation at year's end swept up into a stifling swirl by problems like constitutional revision and release of imprisoned citizens, this series will inquire into the

daily life and thoughts of a number of elder statesmen.

Pressed into silence for two years under the Yushin system, Kim Dae Jung was the first interviewed. Next came word from former President Yun Po Sun, presently under house confinement. The ruling party quickly began attacking the newspaper for being provocative—a charge the newspaper recorded with no small pleasure after years of attacks by students for being too passive.

Before concluding today's letter, let us note the furor caused by columnist Jack Anderson's visit to Korea and what he wrote in his "Washington Merry-Go-Round" afterward. As reported in the *Dong-A Ilbo*, Anderson met Park Chung Hee for an interview in which Park admitted that the abduction of Kim Dae Jung was done by an extremist faction in the KCIA; but Park added, "I swear to heaven I had nothing to do with anything underhanded." Does he not yet know that since Watergate the world does not believe a politician who swears his hands are clean so long as he holds them behind his back? Many Koreans will accept the first part of the Anderson story (on KCIA complicity) but hardly the latter (on Park's innocence). After all, most Koreans were convinced from the very beginning that Kim's abduction was a KCIA job, and more, that without Park Chung Hee's order or approval it could not and would not have been done at all. If President Park's denial of complicity is true, then why has no culprit been found? I surely am curious what the Japanese have to say to all of this? One journalist with whom I discussed this matter ventured:

Why did Jack Anderson probe into this matter? To me it's something of a mystery. And why would Park, like throwing stones at a dead man, at this stage attack Lee Hu Rak [KCIA chief at the time]? Or, for that matter, why deport Rev. George Ogle? Short of Park being an absolute fool, there must be something behind all this. It does not reflect well on America, especially Congress and the news media. There may well also be some inescapable domestic pressures. The Park regime has already leveled criticism against and brought

pressures to bear upon foreign missionaries. Now the ruling party is saying laws should be passed to control "opportunists" with too many contacts among foreigners. But I think there is more to all this than the influence Ogle and other foreigners might have on domestic politics. Maybe Park has decided to challenge those forces in America which support human rights and the restoration of democracy in Korea, much as he threw down the gauntlet to Japan in the Hayakawa-Tachikawa case and in the more recent anti-Japanese demonstrations. Of course, Park's major headache is that his challenge to America can't be carried off as easily as it was against Japan.

I have mulled these words over in my mind many times. At the very least, a deported George Ogle will surely do much to improve the American people's image of the Korean people. And almost as surely the American government will make some display of support for human rights.

Many Koreans feel that the jailing of Hayakawa and Tachikawa is an awfully big sacrifice for Japan to make; more positively, it may help create a nobler bond between the peoples of Japan and Korea. Can these two men endure the minus-ten degrees (centigrade) temperature of their prison cells this winter? Some families of imprisoned Koreans are afraid that the two Japanese may be treated more harshly just because they are Japanese. If so, and however much they may be pitied, the Koreans' image of Japan, unlike the American case, will not improve. It is sad, but true. We hear that Japanese Prime Minister Miki Takeo hopes to level up Japan's international image. Fine, but how? It will take more than efforts in government and financial circles to snag another Nobel Prize for someone [reference is to the awarding of a Nobel Prize for Peace to former Prime Minister Satō Eisaku, widely believed the result of strong pressures brought to bear by his friends in government and finance].

JANUARY 1975

Year of the unknown

(Jan. 1)

It is 1975, the year of the hare,⁵⁵ thirty years since liberation. The long-hoped-for unification seems more elusive than ever. Here in the South, as someone prayed, “the oppressor takes refuge in falsehood and deceit, and with an endless barrage of lies and threats declares war on his own people.”

If any one phrase aptly sums up the past three decades it is “the struggle for the people’s rights.” Presently at the center of that struggle, the *Dong-A Ilbo* writes of the new year, “Hope once again rises like the sun to melt away iniquity and injustice.” Perusing the New Year’s Day edition of *Dong-A Ilbo*, perhaps the people, though chilled to the bones by the bleak realities of the present, also sense a warm breath of hope in the air. The columns left blank by wholesale cancellations of commercial advertisements have suddenly been filled with ads voicing the people’s cries for democracy. Assuming that advertising by political and economic institutions alone provided the life-blood of the newspapers, the Park regime moved to cut off this source of sustenance. But it forgot the people. And the heretofore tabooed expressions of political resistance then found their way into the emptied advertisement columns of the paper. Today (New Year’s Day) the Catholic Priests’ Corps for the Realization of Justice also ran a huge five-column ad for “an appeal against suppression of the press.” An ad of similar size was placed by the New Democratic Party to appeal for “creation of an age of government by the people.” One whole page was filled with smaller support ads paid for by persons or groups such as “a freedom-loving citizen,” “all members of

the Kyoung Dong Church," and "Korean Church Women United." The *Dong-A Ilbo* company song, composed by Korea's greatest national writer, Lee Kwang Soo, was also prominently displayed. It called to mind the many hardships endured by this paper since its birth in the year following the March 1, 1919 Independence Movement, hardships encountered in the course of its defense of the people, democracy, and culture. The *Dong-A* is a symbol of the ordeals borne by all the people, its tears reflect theirs, and its share in their tragic history continues today because its resistance roots in the power of those very people. All the greater, then, is our sorrow and anger at its present travail. *Dong-A Ilbo's* song is worth quoting in full:

O spirit of freedom, asleep in thirty million breasts,
 Awake! and cry out for freedom,
 The dawning of each day brings new power,
 So, cry out, eternally, for freedom.

Refrain

Dong-A Ilbo, the bell of freedom
 For thirty million souls,
 Resound throughout the East
 To every land, forever.

Behold this pen, the pen of justice that
 Can't abide the sight of wrong,
 Though battered in its fight for right,
 It stands with honor, upright, unbroken.

Our flare goes up to signal truth
 Across ten thousand hills and vales;
 From ages past through times untold
 Truth's quickened beam prevails.

With love's unending thread let's bind
 The hearts of thirty million countrymen,
 One by one, into a brilliant banner
 For a new Korea in this land.

The historic battle for justice is revived, recalling *Dong-A Ilbo's* past struggle against foreign rule. Under rule by our own countrymen it has at times been variously called tolerant, docile, servile, and even reactionary. Right now it has reached its limits of obedience to the ruling power. Today's editorial bears the title "1975—the Year of the Unknown."

Since this is, as we said, the "year of the unknown," we can only hope for the best—throw our shoulders back, lift up our heads, look straight ahead, and try to face each day with a clean conscience, doing our very best to stand unashamed before God.

While these words appear too abstract, too much like a moralizing sermon, the people of Korea know very well what they mean. NDP party head Kim Young Sam said to a *Dong-A* reporter:

The government stifled me and tried to trick me into surrendering. But I can promise never to depart from the course which the people expect of me. I hope the people will give me and the NDP their trust and support.

Recalling the details of his abduction, Kim Dae Jung confided to a reporter:

I think the incident has had immeasurable repercussions. When they put me into the boat, neither they nor I thought I had one chance in a hundred of coming out alive. But I survived; they failed. I came to realize that life and death do not necessarily accord with man's limited wisdom. In my political career I have run hard to reach high places; but now I am determined to make my way on the plains with flexibility and a steadfast spirit. Without paying particular attention to results, I intend to do what I realistically can, one thing at a time.

Oppression appears to have yielded Kim Dae Jung a special resilience. Indeed, it has nurtured his sense of ultimate victory.

This, like *Dong-A Ilbo's* new lease on life, gives us cause for rejoicing. Observing current trends in the mass media, one friend commented:

When Thailand's former Prime Minister Thanom returned recently to Bangkok, the Korean newspapers reacted with big headlines such as "THICK-SKINNED DICTATOR'S SNEAK RETURN SPARKS EXPLOSION OF STUDENT ANGER." This was not the first time such a reaction occurred, nor was it limited to one newspaper. All newspapers suffer suppression, and they have thus become increasingly sympathetic toward oppressed peoples. If this situation continues, then even after democracy is restored in Korea our media will most likely respond with greater sensitivity to the plight of oppressed peoples everywhere in the world. We shall not forget our own days of oppression; our media must speak out boldly in behalf of human rights of people the world over.

Change and growth are also typical of persons in prison. We have already had many occasions to note the Korean Student Christian Federation as the body with the most members in jail. Through its various lecture and discussion meetings on such paradoxical (and at times sarcastic) topics as "the disease of human rights," "silent campuses," and "campus shock at an honored guest's coming," the KSCF has stirred up considerable public criticism. "Campus shock at an honored guest's coming" expresses the irony of Ford's visit at such an inopportune time.

At a KSCF-sponsored meeting on this topic, the appearance of a totally unexpected guest caused much excitement. Coming all the way from somewhere in the country, the guest was a veteran pickpocket who had served time in prison, where he met a number of KSCF members and seems to have been deeply impressed by the young political prisoners distinguished from common criminals by the yellow ribbons they are required to wear. Among the KSCF inmates this man experienced a love he had never known. His outspoken remarks at the meeting quickly transformed its atmos-

phere:

They are real patriots! But I'm just a no-good bum. Yun Pil Yong⁵⁶ is worse, but in prison he got whatever he wanted to eat and played tennis all the time. What are all of you doing here, having a good time while the real patriots are sent off to suffer in prison?

This pickpocket had read a newspaper notice of this meeting and had come expecting to find the same kind of KSCF members whom he had encountered in prison. For his troubles he was hauled off again by the KCIA and cruelly abused. This episode reveals how high the morale inside prison is.

A bad case of gout has caused a serious distortion of the mouth of one imprisoned pastor, though of course he has not been granted a medical release from jail. Indeed, he prefers to remain with his comrades in prison. The political prisoners are all respected by ordinary inmates, who sometimes offer to massage their backs. The student who told me this chuckled, "Now I know why they don't care about getting out of jail—they won't get that kind of service on the outside. Inside prison the springtime of democracy is already on its way."

Support is growing for the struggling prisoners, including financial contributions. One grateful student inmate urged, however, "Let the money be used instead to support the fight on the outside." Former President Yun Po Sun, himself still under house confinement, is said to have sent each prisoner a Christmas present of 5,000 won. I understand the government is allowing a few close friends to bring him New Year's greetings, though only during the morning hours of today (New Year's Day).

Not many heavy penalties have been imposed lately, though intimidation by arrests goes on without let. Past charges are frequently revived, as in the case of the PRP (see p. 355), making many students quite nervous. Word is passed around that a "Christian Social Democratic Party" is operating underground. And there are fears that because of the *Dong-A Ilbo's* heroic attitude a

new wave of repression may sweep down by March.

So this is really a “year of the unknown.” The one thing the Korean people know for sure is that the Park regime will use any means to stay in power. Therefore the people must also be sure that, no matter how few participate or in what circumstances, the struggle must go on and not be allowed to get lost in the “unknown.” That is what the *Dong-A Ilbo* means by a life “unashamed before God.”

Dong-A Ilbo's struggle

(Jan. 17)

The battle cries of the people have lately stirred in me a vision of a great person—one who shares the feelings and travail of the people, not just a skilled politician but a great human being. Is such a person being produced somewhere today? And can a people's united front capable of cultivating the democracy suitable for that great person possibly emerge out of the present darkness? Or is this vision only a self-reassuring dream that happened to well up out of my own feelings? As a context in which to test my feelings, it is worth introducing the rather long January 11 editorial of the *Dong-A Ilbo*:

IN APPRECIATION OF THE PEOPLE'S SUPPORT

We cannot find adequate words to express our appreciation for the vigorous and warm support of the people. After learning of the blanket cancellations by our usual advertisers, this newspaper and its affiliate, Dong-A Broadcasting Company, both have received countless telephone calls and letters of encouragement. Although normal advertising has dropped off drastically, part of the slack has been taken up by the support ads that continue to pour in. We are also, thankfully, flooded with long-term subscriptions. But the direct deposits of support funds disturb our consciences. Because of the heartfelt zeal behind these contributions, we can hardly reject them, but we are deeply touched by the fact that the donors

are citizens who appear to have only very limited means. One gift comes from company employees who pooled their lunch allowances; that makes us worry about how they managed to fill their empty stomachs. Other contributions come from groups of high school and university boys and girls. The gifts are not particularly large, but the students have any number of urgent personal needs for which the money could have been used.

This outpouring of tearful support makes us once again painfully aware of the people's backing for *Dong-A*, and even more acutely cognizant of our responsibility toward them. *Dong-A* has always been nurtured by the people's love, and with it shall continue to grow. If the people are the waters of the sea, then *Dong-A* is a fish; only with the former can the latter go on living.

We do not for a moment think that the people's warm and enthusiastic support is directed solely to a single enterprise called *Dong-A*. It is, we believe, a vote of confidence in the company's adoption and implementation of a policy to promote the Korean people, their culture, and democracy, and thus a manifestation of strong support for freedom of the press, people's rights, and the growth of democracy in our country. We are fully aware that what the people of this country really support is press freedom, their human rights, and democracy, and thus that their affection for *Dong-A* is merely one way of expressing that basic commitment.

The powerful surge of support that followed the nonsensical wholesale cancellations of advertisements convinced us that we are not alone in our ordeal. Far from it, we feel greatly encouraged to renew our own commitment and not lose courage. "Blessed are those who are persecuted for righteousness' sake, for theirs is the kingdom of heaven," says the Bible. Bowing before the people, thanking them for their support, and confessing our reassurance, we take pride in their greatness as a people. They are a great people—sensible, proud,

and noble. By their love we are confirmed in our efforts as journalists to pursue the right path in reporting the news on their behalf; they make the battle worthwhile in the midst of the hardships bred by an irrational situation.

All media, including *Dong-A*, belong to the people. That is why the media are referred to as public organs of society, and for the same reason *Dong-A* is sometimes called "the people's newspaper." In expressing both deep emotion and gratitude for the people's warm and vigorous support, *Dong-A* renews its commitment to make every effort to be truly a newspaper of the people.

More than once the editorial speaks of "warm" support; though repetitive, there is really no other word for it. One woman, the kind one would expect to see only in the marketplace, came in and left an envelope on a news chief's desk. She hardly seemed well-to-do, but the envelope contained several thousand won. She did not even give her name. The stream of students taking one-year subscriptions seems endless. Spontaneous collections by students consist largely of coins. Such touching scenes follow one after another, while support ads increase daily. Pouring over these ads each day is much more interesting and informative than reading the regular news columns, though occasionally an ad prompts a tear. Some samples:

"Whatever freedom of the press is, I want it."——Park In Kong, shoe repair man.

"O foolish ones!"——Seven university students.

"Brighten the darkness."——Members of the Angel Singers Family.

"Until the baton changes hands."——Some students.

"We could neither speak nor look as we wished, but until now we could at least listen."——Garment workers at Tong Hwa Company.

"*Dong-A*! You're the only hope we have."——Myongdong residents.

"I feel *Dong-A's* pain as if it were my own."——Anonymous.

"We are celebrating our wedding by sending encouragement to *Dong-A*."——Son He and Yong Sam.

"Hyon Chol! Follow *Dong-A's* courageous example."——
Greetings to our first son Hyon Chol on his 100th day on this earth.

"We'll win!"——Seoul Senior High School graduates.

"*Dong-A*, I could hug you!"——Ju.

Another ad, with no message, was signed simply "Grandmother in Myun Mok Dong township." Most ads were placed by "Anonymous." A *Dong-A Ilbo* column calls this "the age of anonymity." Not without reason, considering the ubiquitous oppression and harassment. The anonymous persons are of course counted among the silent majority, the "absolute majority" claimed to support the Yushin system. Fearful of even their level of courage, the KCIA is frenetically trying to uncover the identities behind the support ads. Provincial police are investigating *Dong-A's* lists of subscribers with a particularly harsh eye for recent subscribers. Copies of *Dong-A* shipped to the countryside often just disappear. Street sales agents are terrorized. Such tactics are effective in the provinces because victims, fearing for their lives, do not report abuses to the newspaper's head office in Seoul. The Park regime therefore believes that, even if some noise must be tolerated in metropolitan areas like Seoul, the provinces at least are filled with silent masses wholly subservient to its rule by force. Well, they may be silenced, but they are not enslaved. I have no doubt that they are rediscovering the meaning of their lives through resistance like that made by the *Dong-A Ilbo*. History awaits their rising up in resistance.

The *Dong-A* case reconfirms the importance of individuals in history. Its fight for press freedom began with the protests of only thirty young journalists whose initiative aroused the entire news staff, who in turn got the executives to reassert the daily's founding spirit. Like Korea University, the *Dong-A Ilbo* was founded by Kim Sung Soo, the nation's leading proponent of national development by indigenous capital. It served as a major vehicle through

which many intellectuals stirred the people against Japanese colonialism.

The Ad Hoc Committee of the *Dong-A Ilbo* branch of the Reporters Association late last year issued a notice that began with these words:

While government leaders claim to “know nothing” of the wholesale cancellations of *Dong-A Ilbo*’s advertisements, the cancellations continue unabated. Since December 25 (1974) not one theater ad has been placed. After Doksurei Pyo (Eagle Phonograph) cancelled its advertising contract, Saingmyoung Bo-hum Hyup-hoi (insurance association) on December 28 informed us by telephone of withdrawal of its ad for the 30th. A special full-page ad scheduled for New Year’s Day was cancelled by telephone on December 28 by Hyundai Automobile Company. Seoul Shikpun (foodstuffs) and Borneo Tong-sang (furniture) each withdrew five-column ads. In Hyundai Auto’s case, its notice of cancellation came only twenty minutes after its publicity manager on the afternoon of the 28th had settled the contract for the full-page New Year’s Day ad and had promised to deliver the plates for it by the morning of the 30th. The rapidity with which this cancellation was made would have been impossible, we believe, without “outside” tapping of the telephone conversation between the advertiser and our newspaper’s ad department.

The advertisers in this notice are identified only by the letters “D,” “S,” and so on, but I have specified them as best I could on the basis of my own investigations. Of special importance was the insistence of the Ad Hoc Committee’s notice that the *Dong-A* daily news and broadcasting company make known to the public the extent of gifts, support ads, and prepaid subscriptions. “To turn our backs on the fervent support of our readers is to turn our backs on the equally fervent aspirations of a free people for the restoration of democracy,” warned the committee. “If we make our own course clear, support by the people, who hunger for the

return of democracy, will escalate, and with their backing our fight for press freedom will surely be victorious."

The reporters firmly believe that "despite delays and deflections, victory in this fight is assured." Their struggle is not, in their minds, an isolated one for the *Dong-A Ilbo* alone; it is "a matter of deep concern for our democratic people and the focus of international opinion." Individuals like these can change the course of history. So far, the public authorities, the ruling party, and even the dictator have said nothing about this newspaper's struggle, using only crafty blocks and parries incapable of turning the tide of popular support. The nervous overreaction that led to Ogle's deportation is typical; the strong criticism at home and abroad were hardly anticipated. Nor was it expected that Ogle would be able to testify at a congressional hearing immediately after his return to the U.S. And there certainly was no idea that KCIA action to deprive him of his personal freedom [by preventing him from disembarking from a Korean Air Lines plane at Tokyo's International Airport en route home] would cause such an uproar. In short, the authorities acted out of their own impatient interests and were, therefore, simply incapable of making accurate judgments about objective realities.

The *Dong-A Ilbo* case also served to reveal to the entire public the extent of resistance by students and Christian circles. The Park regime is increasingly pushed to the point where it must make some decision. Will it elect to clamp down in renewed oppression, or will it seek some temporary escape route that prolongs its life? Either way it cannot reverse its destined decline. Likewise, most *Dong-A* employees confess that the newspaper cannot back down from its present position.

Still, even a few persons can work miracles in altering the course of history. Conversely, a great people with a great history can produce extraordinary individuals. Korea should seek its greatness not in wealth but in dignity. This, at least, we must learn from our present ordeal. Let our land be a mecca of justice, linked in solidarity with those who oppose the spread of fascism in Asia. Let

us also realize that our struggle cannot be waged in disregard of the international forces supporting those who oppress us, and that these forces operate so as to reduce the Korean people to a *de facto* condition of domestic confinement. It is up to us to break out of that condition with the help of conscientious forces throughout the world. For this reason, we are immensely grateful for the support for *Dong-A Ilbo* that comes from the outside.

FEBRUARY 1975

Computerized dictatorship

(Feb. 7)

On January 22 the government announced plans to hold a National Referendum. It is part of what a *Washington Post* article, carried in the *Dong-A Ilbo*, calls “the computerized dictatorship” of the Park regime.

The *Washington Post* article tells a touching story about the *Dong-A Ilbo*. A girl student of a certain junior high school visited the *Dong-A* to place a support ad that read “the darker it gets, the brighter your light shines.” She paid for the ad with a small gold ring. An employee in the advertising department, knowing the ring was worth about fifteen dollars, paid that amount to the newspaper, then commented,

To me this ring is a medal of glory. When my daughter becomes old enough to understand what happened, I’d like to give her this ring. Right now she’s only seven.

There are a few more sorrowful stories worth relating. The families of political prisoners, for instance, are carrying on the struggle outside. But that provokes revenge against their loved ones in prison. Both parties are informed of this interaction to heighten the mental torment. This too is a method of “computerized dictatorship.”

When books are sent to students in jail, the prison educational officer, who is required to read them all, spends countless days doing so. The contents of English-language books must be reported in Korean. This requires considerable scholarly capability on the part of the poor prison officials. If a family grows weary of waiting

for a book to be cleared and asks for its return, they are told there is no stipulation permitting books to be returned to the donors. Meantime, the prisoners are given no work to do. Many suffer from severe frostbite. As only gifts from family members are authorized, kindnesses shown by friends are repulsed.

One mother visited her son, who is thrown together with common criminals, and discovered that her gifts were not reaching him; the ordinary inmates took everything. Her son is not even allowed to get a haircut. The poor woman broke down and cried.

His face is covered with a beard, and the color of his face hardly resembles that of a human being. He was always a strong boy, but his strength is nearly gone now. I choke up so, I can't even talk to him. He tries to smile, but his face just becomes distorted. It's all so cruel, I don't know what to do. . . .

Demonstrations outside result in savage treatment inside. Then the results are shown to the families. If the inmate and his family suffer enough, then they will never again indulge in the luxuries of "democracy"—this seems to be the idea. "Make every effort for their release, but do not become servile; we must maintain our dignity," urged one family, albeit with trembling hearts. Some say divisions are beginning to separate the prisoners' families, and word of this naturally disturbs the prisoners. To foster such divisions, one prison purposely treated one group of inmates better than the others.

The icy stares of neighbors became too much for one father in the countryside. He was ever ready to insist, "Whatever else he may be, my son is certainly not a communist." Warned not to say such things, he was often taken in by the police and threatened. Informed of this, his imprisoned son sent word, "Father, please be careful." This father regularly attended a Methodist church, but the pastor was as cool toward him as a cold-blooded animal.

Our church was to receive a small building from the local government, but with someone like myself in the congregation,

this fell through. The church became much colder toward me. One day the congregation proposed spending 70,000 won on gifts for the local officials to facilitate negotiations. I opposed this. How could I possibly go along with such a proposal while my son sat in jail merely for resisting injustice?

Eventually this man and his family left this church and went to a nearby Catholic church.

The priest welcomed us, encouraged us to talk about anything we wished. That very evening he came to our home and said a mass for us.

Such is life in a country town under a “computerized dictatorship” that proposes to stage a “national referendum.” When Koreans first began turning to the unfamiliar Christian faith one hundred years ago, it must have been because of similar troubles and discontent. Even so, as this man observed, “Some parts of God’s Word are taught and followed faithfully, some are not.”

There is no end to the hardships of those in prison. Young prisoners separated from their families and dispersed to provincial jails sometimes are given small presents by nearby religious groups. When these gifts are blocked by the family-only rule, the youngsters must endure the harsh winter without any extra supplies whatsoever. Evidently the strategy is to break their spirits and health so that they will never again rise up. The PRP-related persons, being “communists,” of course may not receive anything. The Korean branch of Amnesty International tried to give 5,000 won to each prisoner for personal needs, and were arrested and abused for their troubles. Each of the PRP inmates gets a handful of boiled barley and rice and is allowed only two minutes of exercise daily. The wife of one wailed tearfully, “Life for them is far worse than that of pigs led to a slaughterhouse.”

A young woman who visited her younger brother in a country jail was shocked to see the skin peeling off his frostbitten hands. She rushed out to buy medicine and brought it back, only to be told that prison regulations forbid the giving of medicines to

inmates. The sister cried out, "Who is responsible for this monstrous sin?", and spent that night in tears. Korean tradition warns against harming others so that one's descendants will not be cursed. How should we, then, understand the brutalities which Park Chung Hee, his party, the KCIA, and others in authority callously inflict upon these youngsters? Here are some samples of the absurdities thrown at the prisoners' families during harassment by police:

"You would be much better off if you would just keep quiet, so why do you go around making so much trouble?"

"Don't you believe what the prime minister says?"

"Why have you turned against our sacred courts?"

"Are you trying to make heroes of the prisoners and traitors of us and our children?"

"Why do you tell lies about torture and other maltreatment?"

"Sign this pledge not to attend prayer meetings and other such gatherings!"

"If you want to go to church, why can't you just go to one in your own neighborhood?"

"Sign this statement that your husband is a communist! It will go better for him in court at his third hearing if you do."

"Promise you will not put ads in the *Dong-A Ilbo*!"

Usually, not a wink of sleep is permitted during the long brow-beatings. One wife of a PRP "member" reported on her three-day interrogation:

My throat got so dry I couldn't go on, so I was given a cup of water. After drinking it I suddenly had a very pleasant feeling, sort of half-drowsy, so I signed a statement that my husband is a communist. But as soon as I went out from the KCIA gate, I broke down and cried and vowed to die.

This is a horrible story. The water evidently was drugged. Returning home, this wife confessed she had betrayed her husband and asked their two sons to commit a family suicide with her. Their ten-year-old son dashed out of the house screaming, "I

don't want to die! We have to fight to get father back!" Her lawyer tried to console her with assurance that a statement signed under duress is not valid. She only said that since she had no freedom to speak, think, or go about freely, going to jail would be better. Beyond that, she was unable to go on talking.

This wife did, however, relate her experiences soon afterward at a prayer meeting attended by Kim Chi Ha's mother—who became furious, turned on the ever-present KCIA agents, and ordered them out of the room. In her own enraged words:

Because Chi Ha is famous, I have so far kept silent to avoid drawing attention to myself. But why have these barbarous thugs come here to a place of worship? When my son was young, I taught him; but since he grew up I have learned from him. Now I'm ready to fight like he's taught me. So, you KCIA devils, get out of here!

The place was thrown into an uproar. Many observed how like the son the mother is. And many hearts were warmed by the humorous comment of a missionary present:

When I heard today's prayers, I almost cried my heart out. The next time we have prayers like that, then as we open our eyes after prayers, let us look at the persons next to us. Anyone with dry eyes will be a KCIA agent.

Everyone burst out laughing but, given the circumstances, the laughter was rather sad and doleful. Maybe all laughter under a "computerized dictatorship" is like that. If people can still laugh after arrests, forced signing of fabricated statements, and even torture, then perhaps there is yet some hope for humanity. A conscientious general who could no longer go along with the Park regime and consequently was arrested, jailed, and tortured many times, placed an ad in the *Dong-A Ilbo* as a "warning to a certain agency." It ended with this line:

This is a strict warning against the diabolical tendency of a certain agency to make concocted charges against this law-

abiding citizen, a general who has served in the defense of his country. The effort to bury me alive must not go any further.

How hard it must have been for this general, still a reserve officer, to make this statement—like coughing up blood. A number of missionaries also ran an ad in the *Dong-A Ilbo* concerning prisoners' families. After calling attention to the particularly poor treatment of prisoners with alleged PRP connections, their statement pointed out:

Because the families of political prisoners are repeatedly taken in for questioning by the police and KCIA, they have been driven into poverty, and we are very worried whether they can somehow make ends meet.

The whole so-called PRP affair is an atrocity. In the court records presented at their final appeal the defendants' earlier testimony had been completely reversed, provoking furious objections from their families and lawyers. In their initial hearing, where defendants had answered "no" to certain questions, the court records now gave "yes" in perfect agreement—and apparent collusion—with the public prosecutor's report. It is enough to provoke the wrath of God and man alike. Again, the families took recourse to the advertizing pages of the *Dong-A Ilbo* to make "An appeal to President Park from families of the so-called People's Revolutionary Party." They said in part:

When we heard our husbands plead "not guilty" and cry out "we were given electric torture by investigators. . . ." and when, despite our husbands' repudiation of the unsupported changes in their previous court testimonies, the court hurriedly pushed proceedings through and gave them totally unacceptable life terms. . . , can you not imagine how we wives felt deep down in our hearts? In bitter resentment we made our tearful petition. But this was said illegal, so we were hauled off for four days' interrogation by the KCIA. Firmly con-

vinced of our husbands' innocence, we have repeatedly tried to appeal on their behalf; but the KCIA has always torn up our petitions and made us write down what they dictate, threatening to turn us over to the public prosecutor and put us under one or two months' confinement if we do not write what they say. We cannot bear to think of our children at home crying forlornly for their parents. Forced to sign statements utterly different from what is in our own minds, and unable to go on living with the painful burden of having done so, we now plead to you, the president, sincerely and with all our hearts, to add no more to the sufferings of us wives who weep constantly for our innocent husbands. . . .

Their appeal ended with a special plea that the final appeal be held in the Supreme Court.⁵⁷ About this time the National Council for the Restoration of Democracy launched its "Movement for Declarations of Conscience," asserting that when forced to write statements under KCIA or police pressures it is perfectly permissible to scribble anything without any moral qualms, that is, to follow the example of Bishop Tji, who made his basic position clear from the outset in his own "Declaration of Conscience": "The above is my own basic position; any further word that is made public will never be by my compliance but only because of naked force applied by others."

This may be the wisdom needed to live conscientiously in a time of modern computerized violence. It is a modern approach to the old problem of the *fumie*.⁵⁸ "Don't knuckle under to force" and "all violence breaks down before justice" are the battle cries of the prisoners' families; they still ring in my ears late at night. With joy they sing this old folk song to a modern melody.

We are on the side of justice,
It's alright, alright.
We shall live and die together,
It's alright, alright.

We had rather stand up and die
 Than live down on our knees;
 So, keep your hands off
 Our freedom of faith,
 It's alright, alright.

After repeating "We are on the side of justice. . . ," other verses call for press freedom, eradication of immorality and corruption, release of prisoners—always interspersed with the affirmation "It's alright, alright." It is a sad and mournful song of great courage.

National referendum

(Feb. 17)

For a long, long time now
 My hands have been clasped in chains,
 For too many years and months
 They have been clasped in supplication.
 I have embraced no one with passion,
 I have gripped no hand with warmth.

Refrain

O Lord, come down
 And break my chains,
 Free me soon, Lord,
 From these heavy chains.

These are lines from "A Prayer of Clasped Hands" written in prison by Kim Chi Ha. As if his prayer were answered, today's *Dong-A Ilbo* was filled with news of "released prisoners." The voice of the people has been heard in this very anti-people age. While my heart inclines to rejoice over this victory of the people, I must first deal with the National Referendum [announced on January 22, this referendum was held in mid-February to assess the people's approval/disapproval of the Yushin Constitution and the system based upon it]. It was staged to answer the Park regime's critics at home and abroad. In a sense, the fact that the referendum was held at all represents progress for the anti-Park forces. In general,

the referendum had three objectives: 1) to crush the people's resistance, 2) to pacify overseas critics, and finally, 3) to show the world that the Park government is in "good shape," fully capable of "governing" the Korean people—if only it succeeded, even with strong-arm methods, in winning a massive majority vote like that of the 1972 referendum.

So the government embarked upon a referendum course, but not without complications. Worst of all were the media attacks, set off by *Dong-A Ilbo*, on the referendum as a fraud. The accusations and fighting spirit of the opposition parties and the general public far exceeded the Park regime's calculations. Too, the government's administration of the referendum was downright dirty. Despite all the publicity and preparations for the referendum to be held "sometime in mid-February," the people were informed of the actual date of the referendum (February 12) only one week earlier on the 5th.

The decision for February 12 was full of other base reasons. For one thing, this avoided (and allowed the government to firm up its position prior to) the new academic year's opening in March. The government obviously was afraid that, given time, students could mobilize forces to monitor and inspect balloting procedures. Moreover, February 12 was the day after New Year's Day by the old calendar; many Koreans throughout the land were still enjoying the New Year's festivities and on that day in particular would be visiting the ancestral graves to offer gifts to departed souls and also calling on family heads. On why the balloting day was scheduled during a festive season, one friend commented:

I can think of a number of reasons. They wanted to avoid too much interest in the referendum on the part of the people. At New Year's time people love to wine and dine. Most important, though, was the unfair advantage taken of the people's travels around the country during the traditional season of festivities.

Elaborating on underhanded use of the New Year's customs,

this friend pointed out that while antigovernment criticism is strongest in Seoul, its citizens always exodus in droves to the countryside for the New Year's observances; thus unused ballots could all be counted in favor of the Yushin system. There are many clever ways to indulge in fraudulent balloting. A few examples can be taken from previous elections. Election officials can stuff a number of affirmative ballots in the boxes ahead of time. Proxy votes can be commandeered. Persons likely to cast negative votes or boycott the referendum may not, due to "administrative oversight," be sent balloting notices. Often in our so-called "open elections" the balloting officials must be shown that a ballot is marked affirmatively before one can put it into the ballot box; this procedure carries the weight of an "order" which one ignores only at some risk to his life. Another interesting tactic is to gather town and village people into groups and hand one of them a ballot marked in the affirmative, which he deposits in the ballot box. Then he marks his own ballot in the affirmative and hands it to the next person for deposit in the ballot box. Repeating this procedure to the last person usually results in a unanimous affirmative vote by the whole group.

Too many opposing votes in a specific district can lead to a purge of the chief and his subordinates of government agencies in that district. The people of that district will enjoy little government response to their needs. If they want a new bridge or electric power line, their district had better go overwhelmingly in favor of the referendum. Thus it is that local administrative officials and police officers scramble about disgracefully on election days.

And that is not all. Counting the ballots also presents an ugly scene. Kaleidoscopic changes have been wrought by burning negative ballots, exchanging fake ballot boxes crammed with affirmative votes for those known to have many negative votes, or more simply placing a pile of affirmative votes on top of a stack of negative ones and counting the whole as affirmative.

In the referendum of November 1972, just before the declaration of dictatorship under the Yushin Constitution, the opposition

parties were able to station observers at voting places. Illegal attempts to buy off or intimidate the opposition's observers were very common. Under the Yushin system all balloting procedures were put in the hands of government-appointed persons. Still, excessive sums of money and influence were illegally used by the ruling party to win elections, and this caused public criticisms of the Park regime to escalate. The problem of illegal elections and referendums were solved, then, by making them direct administrative functions of the government.

It was public outrage over illegal election practices that led to the overthrow of Syngman Rhee's government in 1960. The Park regime, therefore, has marshaled all possible wisdom on how to conduct illegal elections more skillfully. This computerized dictatorship launched its career with computerized fraudulent elections. But its electioneering tactics reached a climax—and their limit—in the 1971 campaign against Kim Dae Jung. So, Park Chung Hee, as expected, turned to special pleading that he would train a successor and tearfully promised the people that if they would elect him to a third term it would be his last. The outcome, however, was the “October Revitalization (Yushin)” system that abolished all exercise of sovereignty by the people and gave Park permanent control.

Among the difficulties of the recent referendum was the fact that the people knew only too well what voting under the Park regime really means. They realized it is merely a “necessary gesture” for legitimizing something Park intends to do anyway. The percentage of voter participation and the percentage of affirmative votes were set in advance. Under an “administrative referendum” no one outside the government monitors the balloting or vote-counting, so the count can be reported as desired.

In earlier experiences the people were furious when announced results obviously betrayed the actual balloting. But since results under the Yushin system are known in advance anyway, they now protest the wasting of huge amounts of tax money on useless balloting. After all, until the Park dictatorship is abolished through

constitutional revision, all such exercises are utterly pointless.

Another major difficulty was that world opinion had little trust but, in contrast to 1972, much interest in the referendum. The world watched this one very carefully, and the realization that any exposure of malpractice would have an immediate impact on world opinion gave immeasurable encouragement to those who championed the people's struggle. Since the Korean people and world opinion had little faith in the Park regime and much in his critics, Park's forces this time had far less room for maneuver. The five-man neighborhood units were used throughout the nation in an effort to prevent abstention from voting and to promote affirmative votes. Day laborers were mobilized with promises of work, then money was simply handed out to buy votes. Government officials were brought together in groups according to their home districts and sent home with instructions to make people understand "the present situation." Several thousand big shots from all sectors of life were collared and told, "Only under Park's leadership can the country be saved." However eminent these persons may be, if their services are so easily made available to the ruling group, they inevitably are seen by the people as traitors. Likewise, respected intellectuals who adopt and plead the government's line are despised as phony intellectuals. Does the government not realize that that is the tradition in this country, and the present is no different? Just before the referendum one senior friend put it this way:

I suspect the regime knows such measures are useless, but must do something to ease its own anxiety. Since it publishes whatever figures it wishes, there is no need to behave so frantically. This referendum is a failure no matter how the vote comes out. It only serves to unite and strengthen the resistance. The government says that opposing the referendum is illegal, but can do nothing to stop it. Oh, it may engage in harassment after the referendum is over, not massive repression but more like the tactics used in the case of Kim Dae Jung's alleged violations of election laws—arresting and

releasing persons in a long-term scheme of harassment. Then again, it may not, because the Park regime's strategy has gotten completely out of step with realities.

When a piece of history begins to fall apart, can anyone halt the process? Any effort to do so that is really designed to save oneself only hastens the downfall. History has its own ironies. And its own awesomeness. At such times realities must be faced squarely and a corrective plan devised. But the Park regime thinks of nothing except how to maintain its present position. Though its opponents clearly constitute a majority, it wants to believe they are only a handful. It consoles itself with such a fiction. But the support ads in the advertising pages of the *Dong-A Ilbo* reveal a crazy world in which the true majority voice is discounted as only that of a small minority, and the real minority voice poses as that of an absolute majority.

One example of the government's referendum strategy appeared in a certain newspaper. The Board of Education of Choong Chung Namdo province issued "Strategy Directives" aimed at garnering "ninety percent" of the province's vote. These directives required teachers to visit households of their fathers and brothers to determine where voters stood on a five-place spectrum of pro-government, close-to-government, undecided, close-to-opposition, and pro-opposition. Ignoring the committed extremes, the teachers were to work at winning affirmative votes from the three intermediate groups.

Such directives were carried out all over the country. Disclosure of an official document issued by the Chulla Namdo Board of Education has revealed this scheme:

In order to make doubly sure that no one boycotts the referendum, principals are to have all teachers under their jurisdiction list the code numbers on the ballots of the teachers and their families; the principal must compile a master list of all ballot numbers and report to the Student Guidance Supervisor's office by 5:00 P.M. on February 11 [the day before

the referendum].

Amidst the tumult *Dong-A Ilbo* ran a series of articles on the March 15, 1960 election malpractices that resulted in Syngman Rhee's downfall. Antigovernment forces threatened to boycott the recent referendum, and the police issued a counterthreat to punish those who did. Some police officers were caught trying to make secret tape recordings of a New Democratic Party meeting in a provincial town. All employees at a certain ward office reportedly applied for absentee ballots, which were then all marked affirmatively and sent back to voting officials. Despite claims of openly administered balloting, affirmative votes and proxy votes inserted into ballot boxes in bundles are said to have been observed all over the country. One elementary school teacher conscientiously reported yielding his ballot to a proxy on orders from his principal. A ruling party member was exposed delivering twenty-six proxy votes. In all such cases, those issuing the orders all went free; only those reporting illegalities were arrested and jailed to prevent further exposures.

In the government-administered referendum, voter turnout reached 79.84%, of whom 73.1% voted affirmatively. Seoul, however, reported only a 60.2% voter turnout, with a mere 58.05% in the affirmative, representing only 34.95% of all eligible voters. Even these surprisingly low counts are not trusted by most people, who cannot easily forget the escalation of balloting malpractices over the last decade or so. They see the referendum merely as a staged performance. Opposition spokesmen put it bluntly: "Just as a robot is not a human being, so government-administered balloting is not a national referendum" and "a referendum carried out by coercion and fraud reflects neither the public will nor public trust." These sentiments, of course, echo the public's feelings.

On February 10 a five-column ad, signed by "a young citizen born in this country, who feels that supporting the *Dong-A Ilbo* makes life worth living," proclaimed in large letters:

February 12 is the birthday of the beloved President Lin-

coln. . . . "Government of the people, by the people, and for the people shall not perish from the earth."

What irony! The dictator's computer apparently failed to note that February 12 is Lincoln's birthday. That day is also Ash Wednesday this year, the beginning of the Lenten season, so Catholics planned to fast and pray at Seoul's Myongdong Cathedral, with an appeal to "Lift high a beacon in the midst of darkness!" It just so happened, they also say, to be "the day of the national referendum," an exercise thought necessary to legitimize the dictator's inhumane violence. As church history is centered on Christ's resurrection, so Korean history is now focused on the springtime of renewal. At the end of the referendum the NDP expressed its appreciation to the people:

We extend consolation to all the people who for twenty-one days have been tormented with threats and hardship.

This is not just politics, it seems to me, but a matter of ethics, faith, and confrontation; an inescapable fate and reality of the Korean people that can only be termed tragic and disastrous. Who can redeem the sin and guilt of this, our history?

What lies ahead?

(Feb. 17)

All day on February 11, the day before the referendum, I kept turning over in my mind some words of the writer Chang Yong Hak, loved for his true humanity and profound wisdom, words that appeared in a *Dong-A Ilbo* ad:

Dictators often speak of tomorrow's roses, but in all history their roses have never bloomed. Only weeds take root in the fields of dictators.

Our dictator has also spoken of "a gold-lettered monument of the people's restoration," by which he means his effort to buttress his "nationwide political system" by reconfirming his legitimacy through the national referendum. We hear, however, that the U.S.

Department of State has declined to comment on the referendum. Japan, for a change, is also keeping its silence this time. So, what will come of it? There is little room to believe that the people's solidarity and commitment to resistance, particularly their ethical thrust, will fade away. Indeed, these impulses will very likely grow. On the other hand, the effort to split the *Dong-A*-led solidarity of the media will intensify. The same divisive tactic will be directed toward the opposition parties. But such tactics will continue to be countered by the force of history, the voice of the people, and the strength of international opinion. Above all, persistent pressures to pacify *Dong-A* will continue unabated.

Doubtless the Park regime is increasingly anxious to avoid a military coup. Joint Catholic-Protestant resistance certainly will not cave in easily; moral commitments, once made, are not that simply abandoned. But it is precisely this sort of strength among the people that Park Chung Hee fails to understand. He will go on believing it is only the agitation of a handful of critics and the meddling of a few irresponsible foreign correspondents. He has no faith in the power of the people to create their own great history. He will tread the road to his own destruction, a firm believer in absolute force to the very end. But the people's power cannot be forever thwarted. More and more criticisms and denunciations are heard openly in the streets. One friend confided:

Even from Park's viewpoint this national referendum was a total failure. Just look at the poor results, in spite of the coercive atmosphere. Even with direct use of illegal procedures. The outcome in fact gives most people new courage. Those who opposed or boycotted the referendum were threatened with punishment, but the threats cannot be carried out. It is very interesting, though, that the regime, which is free to do anything it wishes, should publicly report the low count of affirmative votes. It did so, I think, because it was astonished by so much opposition and nonparticipation, and wanted to avert any serious aftereffects. Two factors can be seen at play here: one is the fearsome resistance of the people,

and the other is the Park regime's fear of it. This resistance will escalate, and the regime's neurotic indecisiveness will grow more acute.

The government's inability to reach a clearcut decision on the *Dong-A Ilbo* merely extends the newspaper's role of "agitating resistance." Sorry a national referendum was tried, the regime is now busily trying to place blame for the blunder. There is a scurry to display something of a new "national political system," for the old one is too discredited to warrant support. It is the same with release of political prisoners; Park Chung Hee may take personal pleasure in his tough stance, but the responsibility for ill effects is shoved off on lower officials. He remains adamant in a mentality that has long since exhausted its possibilities.

The economy, of course, is in serious trouble. A number of construction projects started with government-guaranteed loans have been suspended. Naturally the Park regime claims this is due to foreign anxieties over dangers of political instability aroused by agitations of "democratic citizens"; that is, blame is sloughed off on the people themselves. Foreign banks in Korea have been authorized to finance ventures with their won reserves in a move to tide over, even temporarily, the dollar shortage. Dummy firms are regularly exposed among enterprises founded on foreign loans. But, in any case, proverbial wisdom among the people holds that "even when firms collapse, the enterprisers always survive." Since loans are guaranteed by the government, any losses are borne by the government, which is to say, by the people. Meantime, the enterprisers have provided well for their own continued living in luxury—at the price, to be sure, of complete alignment with the ruling group.

Actually, the people are no longer in a position to confer any legitimacy on the Park regime. It has set itself on a course maintained by force, and the people, far from being able to pursue their own ways under its protection, live in constant fear of being sacrificed and exploited. We just may be approaching that moment of dramatic change often called "the eve of revolution." One eve-

ning, as a number of friends were exchanging opinions on the use of force to affect change, an observation was made that still lingers in my mind:

There is not a single instance in which the people have, on their own, tried to use force to achieve change or redress. Even in the few cases where the use of force has been attempted, it was only after having first been pushed around. Should any violence erupt now, the government would most likely label it a communist-instigated domestic insurrection and plunge the country into the dark ages. But the people may have reached the point of willingness to suffer even that possibility if the desired change could be achieved. Should violence take on an aura of excitement, with even a glimmer of hope for salvation, there's no telling what might happen. Isn't that what we saw in the 1930's when the Korean people became so restless under Japanese rule?

The present regime, for its part, can be expected to repeat oppressive blunders like its overreaction against the *Dong-A Ilbo*. As far as the people are concerned, the national referendum only served to whip up new fervor for their struggle. Thus, the government, in hopes of resolving this tension, or at least of pacifying the explosive situation, decided on February 15 to release the political prisoners. Perhaps it hoped to obscure its denunciation by the people, particularly by the more critical groups. If so, it is a vain hope, for it merely increases the pressures to uncover the whole spectrum of abuses from referendum illegalities to spurious charges like those against the NFDYS. Indeed, the seriousness of trumped-up "red" labels pinned on alleged PRP participants and of the unduly severe penalties, including death sentences, imposed on them, now looms larger than ever. Rev. George Ogle was deported precisely because he pried into the facts of the PRP case. But, far from retreating from this issue, foreign missionaries in Korea are now more concerned. Twenty of them appealed to Amnesty International to investigate the PRP case. The opposition

parties have also begun to question it openly. All of which raises the question as to how the regime, and especially Park Chung Hee himself, will react to this challenge of consciences as one by one the veils of deception are peeled away. President Park himself is the source of the inflammatory charges made by his underlings in and out of the courts that the NFDYS tried to carry out a strategy of the North to set up a "red" regime in the South. And none other than Prime Minister Kim Jong Pil has maintained that political prisoners could not be released unless they repented. Now, after only ten months of prison life, release is granted even to some with life terms. How, then, does the Park regime propose to deal with the power of the people and the pressures of overseas opinion that forced it to display such "tolerance"? Mere rebuke of these pressures will not resolve its dilemma. The only feasible approach, in my opinion, is to deal squarely with these political realities even at the cost of an inner wrenching of the entrails of government; but it is highly doubtful that Park Chung Hee is capable of even considering any tinkering with the mechanisms of his power.

Today's (February 17) *Dong-A Ilbo* could be called a special issue on released political prisoners. The front page carries banner headlines such as "NDP TO INVESTIGATE FACTS OF PRISON TORTURE," "WATER AND ELECTRIC TORTURES USED BY KCIA," and "NFDYS MEMBERS CONFESS TO FALSE PROCOMMUNIST CHARGES UNDER THREAT AND APPEASEMENT." An interview with six released prisoners is reported on page three under the headline "WHO CAN CRUSH OUR CONVICTIONS?" Page four has the current instalment in a serial story on the March 15 (1960) election malpractices under the title "Hidden History of the First Republic." Cultural reports on page five include several headlined "DISSIDENT POET KIM CHI HA WROTE EPIC POEM IN HIDING BEFORE IMPRISONMENT," "THE POLITICAL TRIAL OF JESUS," and "PEOPLE'S GOODWILL BINDS NATION TOGETHER." An article on page six with the headline "LOVE OF FATHERLAND UNALTERED BY IMPRISONMENT" informs us for the first time that defendants joined in singing the national anthem in the very courts that sentenced them. Page seven is

emblazoned with eight photographs of prisoners on the day of their release, with the caption "Long Live Freedom!" A photo of poet Kim Chi Ha surrounded by overjoyed friends on page eight is accompanied by various articles on the prisoners' release.

In this eight-page issue the *Dong-A Ilbo* bluntly asks why the government could not foresee that the release of prisoners, jailed only ten months earlier under death, life, and twenty-year sentences to undergird its control, would instead undermine that control at its very roots. Such are the flawed ways of this infamous "computerized dictatorship." How long can a government last when it is blind to each step ahead on the course it takes? And who will assume responsibility for the vast losses it incurs while it stumbles along blindly? To quote several released prisoners interviewed by the *Dong-A Ilbo*:

Kim Chi Ha: This was my third time in prison, and for some strange reason things went fairly well for me. But I remember one day in court when a student was given a death sentence and responded, "I consider it an honor." His words had a tremendous impact on me; I couldn't forget them. I called them to mind again and again.

Kim Dong Gil: Since I am a university professor I used my time to teach world history and English to students in prison. They called our sessions a "democratic university." The buildings were built with public funds, and tuition was free, as were room and board. We left prison because we were told to, but we are ready to go back whenever necessary. These students are prepared to sacrifice themselves at any time for the sake of the fatherland.

Rev. Park Hyung Kyu: At first I did my best to protest the charges fixed in advance and expressed in stereotyped terms, such as "pre-arranged plot for rebellion," "instigating insurrection," and "plot to overthrow the government." I resisted, but in vain. With the students accepting the indictments against them and, like young sheep, trying to adjust to the

situation imposed on them, I could not, as a pastor, try to seek my own escape from jail. In the end I acted exactly as they did.

Kim Jung Gil: Out after one year, I am impressed with the greatness of our people. I feel a surge of new strength. Once again I sense the plain reality that the people love eternal truth and freedom.

Paik Ki Wan: My fervent desire that democracy will flourish in this land has not changed. Prison life made my own consciousness toward democracy blossom, and from now on I will make every effort to bring this desire to fruition.

Na Byong Shik: I wanted very much to see my two younger brothers when I came out, but couldn't; Mother is also disabled [when his father was attending a prayer meeting for prisoners, the rest of the family at home were overcome by coal fumes]. My family has moved from Kwang-san in the country to Seoul; we just embraced each other and cried the whole night long.

There was so much sadness; did it all end in tragedy? One student's father was confined to his sickbed and had asked repeatedly, "My son is innocent; they say he will be released soon, but has he come out yet?" Sickened by anger over the arrest of his beloved son, the father passed away before his son was released. The son offered to the spirit of his departed father a letter written in prison: "Father, I see your form before my very eyes, I gaze upon it just outside my prison window." This and other tragedies were first known after the prisoners left the jails.

Though released student prisoners hesitated "to cause Mom so much trouble," the mothers insisted on laundering their prison clothes—but smelling the body odors of the soiled clothing brought them to tears. These tales, that cannot be told without tears welling up, are they over forever? We know there are men of darkness in whom the stories arouse no sympathy and sorrow, only hatred and

anger. How long must we struggle against them? Perhaps the agents of atrocity have already paid the ultimate penalty—surrendering their own humanity. But that is precisely our fear. Yet men of courage are growing in their love of country and of democratic freedoms and justice, and therein lies our profound hope for the future of Korea. Before his imprisonment, Kim Chi Ha wrote a poem called “With the Thirst of a Parched Throat.”

At earliest dawn on a back alley
 I write your name, O Democracy.
I put you out of my mind long ago
 And wandered away, so far away.
Then some scrap of memory deep inside,
 Aroused by a parched throat,
Caused me, unknown to any other,
 To scrawl your name, O Democracy.

The pain of living came alive,
 With the remembrance of pale freedom
Resurrected by the sight of bloodied faces
 Of friends being dragged away.
With trembling hand and pounding breast,
 My whole body shaking with rage,
Each letter is chalked, in clumsy form,
 On an old board dark with age.

I catch my breath to sob, and scrawl,
 Unknown to all, your name
With the thirst of a parched throat,
 A throat parched from thirst—
Long may you live, long may you live,
 O Democracy.

MARCH 1975

A whirlpool of aftereffects

(Mar. 3)

Daily it becomes clearer that last month's national referendum involved organized corruption on the part of the administration. The government says it spent only 1.5 billion won (over \$3 million), but claims the opposition parties spent 100 billion won (about \$200 million). To assess the true situation, one can start with news accounts three days before the referendum that during a forty-day period up to February 10 a total of 190.7 billion won in new currency was put into circulation—122.2 billion won directly by government agencies and 68.5 billion won through the government-controlled agricultural cooperatives. Distribution of these huge sums is said to have been in five million won amounts to all wards in major cities and at least 500,000 won lots to all villages.

Most of this money went to poor people mobilized for government work projects, though construction work can hardly be done in the dead of winter. As soon as the referendum ended, projects not actually intended for completion were cancelled, provoking protests from village people. The government boasted about its "clean campaign," but it is not unreasonable to assume that most of these massive funds were spent not for public works but directly for buying votes in large blocs. To take but one example, the theft of one thousand ballots in Seoul by the head of an election committee has since been exposed by a ruling party member. The ballots were divided among ward bosses and ruling party members in lots of fifty to a hundred to stuff the ballot boxes in their districts. These are, of course, the very men who administered the referendum for the government. Even worse, the police excuse those

who engineered such malpractices as having committed only "procedural errors," while arresting and jailing those who dared report them. Of such ironies a journalist friend explained:

Administration of the national referendum was like having the cat oversee the fish. In Kang Wongdo province, which has a large military population, both voter turnout and the affirmative count ran very high. Servicemen were ordered to file affirmative ballots in full view of commanding officers before the referendum actually took place. During the morning hours of referendum day I made the rounds of balloting places in Seoul by car, and generally saw only a few elderly men hanging around each place. By eleven o'clock in the morning the government had to report a turnout of only eleven percent. Around two or three in the afternoon, large blocs of proxy votes started pouring in. Not infrequently voters who arrived late at balloting places were flabbergasted when told their votes had already been filed. All over the country, and especially in the villages, ballots were filed ahead of the referendum. It took an awful lot of money to carry out such a scheme.

According to this journalist, the highest possible estimate of affirmative votes would run between 20 percent and 35 percent. An impartial count, of course, would fall much lower. His conclusion:

In this national referendum the critical forces won a large victory. Park Chung Hee himself is well aware of his defeat and thus has had to abandon his post-referendum plans for a tough crackdown. The situation is one Park cannot control by brute force. America, too, knows this. Surely America, and Japan as well, realize that continued support for the Park regime will lead to a dead end like that of Cambodia's Lon Nol.

The "bold decision" of February 15 to release political prisoners is taken as a direct result of defeat in the national referendum. To

avert attacks on election corruption a new issue had to be manufactured. But release of political prisoners was a poor choice of means for rescuing the Park regime. The first outcry of students coming out of the prison gates was a denunciation of the NFDYS case as a complete fabrication. Only half-gray when he entered prison, the now fully white-haired Bishop Tji was met by twenty thousand supporters, before whom he immediately renewed his demand for the restoration of democracy.

KCIA harassment of one prisoner's family aroused considerable public censure. To prevent exposure of the facts this prisoner was shunted off to a hospital soon after his release. Claiming this was merely for identifying his handwriting, the poor fellow was ordered under torture to write "Long live Kim Il Sung!" The forced statement was to be presented as evidence against him for prosecution. Torture by electricity was used on many young people. Some suffered the "Genghis Khan," a method of torture by peeling off strips of outer skin from the body. It is still widely believed that the reported suicide of Professor Choi Jong Gil in 1973 during a KCIA interrogation was actually caused by an overdose of electrical torture [see p. 56].

On February 19 the Association of Families of the Arrested and an allied association of supporters issued a statement with the following resolutions:

1. All violators of the Emergency Decrees must be released unconditionally.
2. The releasees from prison must be granted full amnesty.
3. All acts of torture must be thoroughly investigated.
4. Absolute freedom of person and movement must be guaranteed for all releasees.
5. All students must be permitted to return freely to their schools.

Once again the Park regime has been forced to draw back in the face of the releasees' sustained struggle and the exposure of facts about tortures. Their release, however, is not amnesty but only

temporary suspension of punishment; any misconduct, they are warned, will land them back in jail. They are not free, for instance, to attend prayer meetings. Fearing further politicization of the campuses, the government permits released students to return to school only on condition of repentance for previous offenses. Yonsei University, though, has chosen to resist this stance of the Ministry of Education by approving the return of its own released students and professors. The Association of the Families of the Arrested and the related supporters' association also expressed their concern for those "related to the PRP" and charged with "violation of the Anti-Communist Law" who were not released.

The evidence is incontrovertible that the PRP case is a political drama fabricated by torture and fraud. Even so, the government authorities are still trying to muster all sorts of outrageous excuses and special pleadings in order to cover up their fiendish plot and to construct the last line of defense of its case against these alleged violators of the Anti-Communist Law.

At present the Park regime is unable to make any decision with confidence. It is too engrossed in trying to press its point that the NFDYS was involved in a plot to set up a communist regime under the North's instigation. In doing so, it is thrown off balance by domestic opposition and international scrutiny. It fears sending released students back to school, yet prohibiting their return is precisely the kind of issue that will incite new protest. Moreover, "preventing our return to the campuses is tantamount to sending us back into the movement for the restoration of democracy," say the students. One even said publicly, "If we can't return to school, then send us back to prison." The Park regime has forfeited its options to either advance or retreat. On the fabrications and tortures related to the NFDYS, Kim Chi Ha's statement on his release, titled "Asceticism—1974," made quite an assault. In it he clearly denounces as fabrications exacted by torture the charges

against the PRP of plotting a communist regime. And his fury is vented toward the concocted charges against the NFDYS. To quote one part:

The prosecutor asked for the death sentence. Suddenly, sitting just behind me, Suh Kyoung Suk said, "Don't make us laugh." I laughed too. Kim Byoung Kon [the defendant] began his final testimony. His first words were, "I consider it an honor." Ah, what's he saying? What *is* he saying? Did he say, "It is an honor"? I was overwhelmed by shock.

For all to end in a death sentence and the defendant to say he is honored stirred Kim Chi Ha to further thought:

Those are the words of a saint, they are. But, are we saints? They are the words of sarcasm, stemming from disbelief that the sentence will be carried out. Because we know their foul ways and don't believe they will kill us, is that why we feel free to be so sarcastic? No, that's not it. Then what is it we're trying to say? Yes, of course, that's it! We have already conquered death; we have overcome and put the precious seal of grace on death for all eternity.

Here Kim Chi Ha was filled with the inspiration that burns in the breasts of a fellowship of resistance bound by chains. In this context there occurred to him the phrase "the power of political imagination" which gave unity to his art as a poet and his political activity as a person. It is the kind of unity of art and faith that can flame up only out of the impassioned love of the people's struggle. Thus his spirit remains with the oppressed, inside prison walls. His statement ends with these lines:

Until it rejoins my spirit, my body will fight on. Until it is beaten into pieces and scattered by the winds.

My sole thought in introducing so much of Kim Chi Ha's statement is to show how the aftereffects of the Park regime's violence bring forth men of his stature, his spirit. This noble spirit is pitted in battle against inhuman men defiled by their lust for power. Thus,

victory in this struggle will be recorded as a victory for the human spirit. In this sense I too, like the poet, grit my teeth and mutter, "Thank you, it is indeed an honor," on behalf of those spirits maturing in sorrow and pathos under a repressive government.

A melancholy tale

(Mar. 17)

Confusion at the *Chosun Ilbo* and *Dong-A Ilbo* offices has got all Seoul in an uproar. Some people fear the *Dong-A* is betraying its readers. Certainly the excesses of the *Dong-A* management sound like, and are as hollow as, those of the Park regime in denying government or KCIA involvement in the cancellation of advertisements. I shall return to *Dong-A*'s troubles later.

The other day a group of friends were discussing the present situation. President Park recently exploded in anger over the NFDYS, and particularly the PRP-related persons still in prison. Visiting the Ministry of Culture and Public Information, he flew into a rage over the support ads that undercut government efforts to convince the people that the PRP men are communists. His ravings were so abnormal that the Ministry's head had his subordinates leave the room. The whole scene was merely Park's emotional reaction to the way public opinion treats the released prisoners like heroes and the still-imprisoned PRP group as victims of fraud.

The discussion evoked questions about Park Chung Hee's own character and present condition. In a cabinet discussion late in 1974 over whether to deport George Ogle, the minister of justice tried mildly to defend Ogle. The KCIA rebuked him, and President Park exploded: nothing stands in the way of getting rid of missionaries, and this is more than can be tolerated, so I order him deported. Such emotional outbursts take care of immediate problems, but countereffects soon appear. Anomalies such as other missionaries protesting the PRP frame-up even more vigorously than Ogle but remaining safely in the country and the continuous stream of support ads in the *Dong-A Ilbo* become possible. Explode, strike, then back up two or three paces. Inconsistencies like this

stem basically from Park Chung Hee's own personality and current emotional condition, concluded the group.

The discussion moved then to recent articles in the *New York Times* under headlines like "MAJOR PROBLEMS IN KOREA" and "CAN PARK SURVIVE?" The articles are particularly interesting in that they deal with the character of Park as a dictator. The reporters gathered their data from politically concerned citizens and foreigners in Korea. "It must not be forgotten," one article insisted, "that in his formative years Park Chung Hee entered the military academy of the Japanese army," and lacking any democratic education, Park has always demanded only obedience. Then, too, there was a strong factor of Confucian authoritarianism at work. These articles also say that Park respects de Gaulle, Bismarck, and Hitler.

Can it be that such an authoritative foreign newspaper writes in such a pessimistic vein of the Park Chung Hee whom the Koreans know so well? Here we have an estimate of Park by foreigners that needs no correction. Spreading such views overseas is bad enough, but to do so inside Korea raises extreme fears. When things go poorly abroad, goes the saying, the people at home are harassed. One high-level executive of the ruling party even insists that anti-Park movements in Korea stem from overseas intrigue. In this view, everything can be brought under control if only the organization behind the intrigue is smashed. What this way of thinking really reveals is the international solidarity that supports domestic opposition to the inhuman rule of Park and his regime. How self-complacent, to dismiss worldwide criticism as mere international intrigue! Perhaps the regime truly fails to realize that its ways only invite international isolation. If so, then, as we have suspected all along, its singular focus on retaining power makes it blind to movements in world history. Indeed, its insatiable lust for power prevents it from seeing either the Korean people's real situation or international realities. It reads history according to its own willful lust for power and trusts to luck, in the vain hope that if it can just hang on to power, fate will somehow bring it through safely.

As this melancholy tale drags on, the basic concern, inevitably, is economics. One professor points out that 1.2 million poor people have abandoned the farms for the cities, but if they are unable to cope with urban life and try to return to the villages, the situation will become explosive. They came one by one to the cities as youngsters, but the cities' capacity to absorb them is reaching the upper limits. In the Masan free trade zone young girls earn only 8,000 won (about \$15) per month. Some girls reportedly sell their bodies for a mere 200 won (42¢). Wages of workers at an electronics plant of a foreign firm are relatively high, and worker productivity is higher, we are told, than that of female workers in America; but the average monthly wage paid Korean girls by the firm is only 15,000 won (about \$31). Working conditions are such that one out of every two workers suffers some impairment of vision within eight to sixteen months.

Unemployment grows daily. Commodity prices have jumped fifty percent since late last year. Except for the period of the Korean War (1950–1953), we are experiencing the worst inflation in our history. The March issue of the monthly magazine *Shin Dong-A* carried a major report on "Unemployment—Homeground of Recession" that pinpoints links of Japanese firms to Korea's depression. The degradation of female workers pressured into becoming bar girls and worse poses a gloomy problem of human rights.

Even Park Chung Hee admits to a huge international deficit of \$2 billion for last year. By the end of last year Korea's international debt had climbed to \$12 billion. The Bank of Korea has had to issue notices of nonpayment. With the worst foreign currency situation ever, the most Park can do is try to quench the fires around his feet. There are no real prospects for the future. Foreign banks have been permitted to extend loans in won currency in a desperate effort to attract dollars. This atmosphere has given rise to rumors of currency reform. The government denies such rumors, but the public does not easily forget that previous won devaluations of twenty percent or more have always been repeatedly denied prior to official action. In its Labor Day (March 10) message published

in the newspapers, the KSCF urged:

We should like to hear any valid arguments to prove that reality differs from the prevalent reports of a pending currency devaluation. We find it most difficult to believe a government that always insists on the impossibility of changes in the foreign exchange rate just prior to their implementation.

Most likely political more than economic considerations explain why conversion rate changes are secretly planned. If antigovernment activities escalate in April or May, the devaluation may be announced. Heretofore the Park regime has had to employ a variety of repressive measures, such as the Emergency Decrees. Martial law is worn out from overuse, yet the army cannot be called into action so long as it is less a source of support than of a possible coup d'état. The people, particularly the government's critics, no longer yield easily to such political pressures. The Park regime has frequently tried to ride out crises through various financial manipulations. Efforts to "clean up private debts" have included a freeze on loans to businesses, stopping interest payments, and legal extensions of periods for payments on principal. Political considerations are always behind such moves. The free handouts of 200 billion won before the recent national referendum may well have been premised on a planned currency devaluation. Some religious leaders feel the devaluation is planned to depress the financial resources of anti-government forces and to cut the value of foreign funds which they receive. In any case, devaluation is designed to strengthen government controls over the people, to secure the Park regime's position of dominance. When rule by naked force falters, stopgap measures like financial manipulations are used to unsettle the populace and press them into silence. At present the government is readying itself to follow up the people's resistance with new tactics and laws. The strategy is to recover the political initiative from the people, but the goal is nothing more than to prolong the life of the regime. If the people should give up, then every effort up to now will be lost, and the situation will revert totally to the dark ages.

One person in our discussion group brought up the “fight for the freedom of democratic labor movements.” Blocking this fight is the KCIA-controlled Korean Federation of Trade Unions (KFTU). Of the 250 delegates to its general assembly last year, only twenty genuinely supported the KFTU chairman. The vice-chairman, dispatched along with the chief of organization by the KCIA to the KFTU as agents, could not bear up under the pressures of his office, so he fled to America, thereby precipitating a promise from the KFTU chairman to resign within three months. The deadline expired in mid-January, but in the meantime the government had rewritten the laws governing selection of union leaders, virtually preempting all such powers to itself. Thus, on March 10, Labor Day, 156 labor representatives rose up to issue a call for a truly democratic labor movement. These 156 are all leaders of local branches, engaged in real leadership roles. They denounced the KFTU as a “government-organized, subservient, sham asylum of the labor elite, a hotbed of immoral corruption,” and called for its abolishment “for the sake of five million workers.” Their statement included appeals for “a democratic labor movement” and “self-governing labor unions,” as well as a resolution “urging the chairman to resign; if not, we will publish a list of charges against him and carry out a campaign for signatures in support of this list.” I was puzzled as to how so strong a protest movement was possible among workers under the rigid repressive conditions of today. One friend offered this explanation:

...because repression has run into a dead end. When talking with the 156 one senses something majestic in their commitment, like martyrs. Their strong moral commitment makes it impossible for them to remain silent any longer. They have learned a lot, gained a new consciousness. And the government cannot lay a hand on them—not simply because of their strong wills but because to do so might trigger an explosion among the workers under them. There is a good chance that other self-determined groups in various sectors will also rise up against all the unreasonable repression. If

such groups emerge among religious people, journalists, politicians, and workers, and if they can work together more conscientiously and realistically after the Park regime ends, then there is hope.

Kim Chi Ha has been rearrested. Whatever the official reason, it is obviously intended to crush the morale of all other released prisoners. In prison the morale has always been high and support on the outside strong. Now the government apparently has rearrested one of them in order to test the level of domestic and international backing. So we must appeal again for continued overseas support.

Meanwhile, back at *Dong-A* . . .

(Mar. 17)

Some background is needed to grasp the present situation at the *Dong-A Ilbo*. It is commonplace in Korea these days that lawlessness reigns as law. The Park regime says much about the Constitution but in fact Korea today is like a country without a constitution. One radio speech by the president, and the constitution and all its functions can be set aside. All we have, in reality, is the caprice of one man named Park Chung Hee. He has no idea whatsoever what a constitution is. His so-called "constitutional revision" of 1972 was not a revision at all. The former constitution had no provision allowing the president to dissolve the National Assembly [which he did on October 17, 1972 when martial law was declared]. What took place in 1972 was merely Park's second coup d'etat.

Now the president reigns above the Constitution. Though the Yushin Constitution permits him to do whatever he wishes, he does not bother to abide by it. It has an article, for instance, that clearly provides for petition for constitutional revision supported by at least 500,000 signatures, but any effort to collect signatures for that purpose is punished with fifteen years or more in prison. Lawyers who defend those charged with political offenses cannot serve as legal consultants to corporations nor do they get further court cases. A poet-teacher was fired by his school for reading, at a

prayer meeting, a poem critical of the present situation. Though his is a private school, the principal explained the action as unavoidable due to "pressures from high-level agencies." Since "an elderly principal cannot go to jail," the teacher was asked to leave.

The *Dong-A Ilbo* is no longer seen in the countryside. If you are seen with a copy, the pressures are so intense you cannot obtain even a stick of kindling for your *ondol* (see n. 25). Country people visiting the cities stare bug-eyed at the empty advertisement space in the *Dong-A Ilbo*. Students who once sold the newspaper on the streets have been arrested for "violating traffic laws" and laws governing "gift solicitations." A publishing house that placed an ad in the *Dong-A* was subjected to tax investigations that forced it out of business. One reader reported to the *Dong-A* that the binder who had handled bookbinding chores for this publisher was panic-stricken because he too was forced to undergo a tax investigation. Girl students who ran an ad in the *Dong-A Ilbo* were beaten and compelled to resign from their school. Should a whirlwind of dismissals of *Dong-A* journalists flare up under these circumstances, how would the Korean people react?

The Park regime speaks of "national unity" but knows it can exercise control best when the people's energies are dissipated by divisions. A determined attempt has been made to divide the Christian community, but its leaders now believe the worst is past. In these efforts to divide and conquer, government stooges are at work manipulating both sides. This is the case with both the *Dong-A Ilbo* and the *Chosun Ilbo* newspapers, provoking intensely emotional confrontations between management and editorial-reportorial staff—who have a hard enough time getting along without external interference.

Even so, it is a fact that the people regard the *Dong-A Ilbo* management basically as having betrayed the public. Consequently, the management is desperate to vindicate itself. Blank ad space is decreasing, as ads urging the *Dong-A* to persevere no matter what happens begin to appear. In fact, the people are genuinely anxious over how long *Dong-A* can hold out. I had thought it might struggle

on for six months at most, but now fear it may fold in three. Had it fought valiantly only to be closed down by the Park regime, the people would have counted it a kind of victory. But, remembering precedents from Syngman Rhee's time, the regime chose not to go that route. Rather, it provoked internal dissension within *Dong-A* and blackened its image in the people's minds, leaving them with a deep sense of hopelessness. One leader complained, "The Park regime's strategy is to prevent anyone else from gaining the people's respect; no person or institution must be allowed to acquire a better image than that of the decadent regime itself. And that is perhaps its greatest crime."

During *Dong-A*'s ordeal a host of rumors floated around. One had the government trying to buy out *Dong-A* for 30 billion won, with promises to appoint someone from the *Dong-A* "family" as prime minister. A related rumor had the supposed appointee soliciting opinions from various quarters. A counterrumor saw this person as merely staging a show to boost his own political stock. In more real terms, not a few people were grateful to see *Dong-A* fight for its existence but at the same time experienced great anxiety in the bottom of their hearts. The *Dong-A* family is actually part of the Sam-yang Jai-bul, one of Korea's most powerful zaibatsu; but it was uncertain if this group would be able to carry on its struggle to the bitter end. The *Dong-A* journalists took the lead and, because they knew *Dong-A*'s weak points, were all the more capable of staging a desperate last-ditch stand to establish a strong case for the forces of resistance. But no one knew when they would encounter a vigorous counterattack.

Ultimately the *Dong-A* executives could not accept the position that management exists for the sake of the editorial-reportorial staff. All Korean newspapers must give top priority to the financial interests of the zaibatsu to which they belong. The *Chung-Ang Ilbo*, like the *Dong-A* an evening daily, and its fiercest competitor, must yield to the interests of the Sam-song Jai-bul zaibatsu which owns it. The *Dong-A* will go all out to report any irregularities of the Sam-song Jai-bul, not merely because of journalistic duty but as a

tactic in inter-zaibatsu warfare. Certain universities are allied with *Dong-A* and others with the *Chung-Ang* camp. Now it is rumored that *Dong-A* is trying to assume a role in politics, and many intellectuals feel that the current debacle over *Dong-A* will reveal the extent of zaibatsu influence over the media and politics.

On the 12th of this month the *Chosun Ilbo* fired two of its reporters who demanded that it fight for press freedom. Already, on March 7, the *Dong-A Ilbo* had dismissed eighteen employees, including the chairman and the chief of the general affairs section of the *Dong-A* branch of the National Printers' Union, as well as the staff members of the Ad Hoc Committee for Freedom of the Press. At the same time it announced it would close its consultant, planning, science, and publications departments. The dismissals were imposed on men active in labor organizing activities, but they appealed their case in court, won, and got their jobs back. The journalists proposed to *Dong-A's* management a cut in all their salaries, as if the problem were essentially financial. Management responded with a charge that the journalists' group acted without company approval, that such action would destroy the company's chain of command, and thus fired two more, one of whom was head of the *Dong-A* branch of the Reporters Association. The company's action was taken as the result of a behind-the-scenes compromise between the company and the government reached at a late-February stockholders' meeting. Just as the government has denied having anything to do with the cancellation of advertisements in the *Dong-A Ilbo*, management avows the dismissals are merely part of a personnel rationalization process within the company.

In the *Dong-A* journalists' statement are found the words "the martyrdom of press freedom," as well as the lament "the *Dong-A* today is not the *Dong-A* of yesterday; how can a press which fails to renounce violence ever hope to speak on behalf of the people?" Truly, unless one is ready to face martyrdom he cannot carry on these days. Those who fought against Syngman Rhee's dictatorship in the 1950's were heroic figures; the fighters against Park Chung

Hee's dictatorship have only tragic roles. Today's *Dong-A Ilbo* carries a front-page ad signed by all *Dong-A* employees and titled "Reporting Back to the People." It relates an early morning happening at *Dong-A*:

Early today, March 17, over two hundred ordinary workers in the advertising and composing sections broke up the journalists' strike and sent them home. Meanwhile, we are very concerned about the health of those employees who were admitted to Korea University Hospital after engaging in a protest fast.

Against this ad, the fasting reporters have described in detail conditions in the editorial and composing sections and in the *Dong-A* broadcasting station. One part on the composing section reads:

Early in the morning around three o'clock between two and three hundred drunken thugs armed with clubs, hammers, and welding torches broke down the steel door of the composing room and stormed in. Weakened by five days' fasting, the journalists had no strength to resist. The reporters were worried most that the racks of type might be overturned. Told to leave peacefully, they were beaten with clubs as they filed by the lines of thugs. All were beaten but only three reporters sustained injuries. The reporters were then forced into vehicles provided by the company and were taken to hospital emergency rooms, though two or three refused to accept treatment. Having cleared out the composing room, the thugs around 3:30 A.M. advanced to the third-floor editorial room. . . .

Of the fasting journalists, the twenty without injuries moved to Room 606 of the Christian Center to continue their fifth day of fasting. Of *Dong-A*'s 150 reporters, eighty-seven joined in the protest action; from the *Dong-A* broadcasting staff of producers, announcers, and engineers totalling seventy, only one has remained on duty. NDP head Kim Young Sam and other opposition leaders, as well as Catholic and Protestant leaders, came to Room

606 to give encouragement. These representatives pointed out that to date they had garnered some \$250,000 to fill the *Dong-A Ilbo's* empty ad columns and offered to cover the salaries of the reporters if they were dismissed for "financial reasons." According to reports, the Protestants proposed to raise 1.5 million won monthly, the Catholics one million won monthly, but this plan was not successful. The living expenses of all journalists fired by *Dong-A* and *Chosun* dailies are currently being covered by Christian groups, who are earnestly appealing for help from abroad.

The March 12 statement issued by the Ad Hoc Committee for Freedom of the Press and the Executive Committee of the *Dong-A* branch of the Reporters Association is one of the most outstanding documents in the history of Korean journalism. To quote it in part:

To prevent the vicious antipeople, antidemocratic inhumanity from raising its ugly head in this land again, and to atone for the history of disgrace and contempt of the past fourteen years [period of rule by the Park regime since 1961], we have tried, while subjected to repression, to respond to the desires of the people for freedom and democracy, though we could not always fulfill those desires.

Addressing ourselves to statesmen, we stress that the suppression of advertisements in the *Dong-A* has not been successful; it resulted only in provoking criticism here and abroad. Now you are planning a "Media Revitalization" scheme for a systematic and organized purge of journalists who speak out and act in the cause of press freedom. For our part, we cannot make perversion of truth our business in order to serve the news merchants and profiteers who dominate press circles today, but rather must choose to stand, as prisoners of conscience, on the side of the people who cry out against hardship and oppression. . . .

Whatever hardships befall us, we cannot turn our backs on the tearful trust and expectations shown toward us. We act in the firm belief that the conscientious people, who have chosen the burdens of freedom over enslavement to wealth,

will give us their continued support and encouragement.

Among the supporters mentioned at the end of this statement are included many in Japan who are deeply concerned with the present situation in Korea and who, in addition to advocating press freedom, express what are best described as greetings to the Korean people. The dismissed journalists are relying heavily on the Christians who have rallied to their support. Christian support for the struggle and its victims is very genuine, and a new battle-front may well be emerging here. If all struggles are crushed, not a few Christians may have to accept martyrdom. On the other hand, the people's support is greater than ever before, as is international concern, and the struggle can possibly be said to enjoy a stronger position than at any time in the past. Still the people are discouraged precisely because so much of their energy went into supporting *Dong-A*, and now they need some encouragement themselves. So as not to lose momentum, they must be set afire with greater patriotism. As long as the people's will is aflame, they will not retreat. This whole affair must be used well, to learn from it and to set the Park regime back a step or two.

The zaibatsu argue that they cannot yield control of the editorial and reportorial functions if they are to safeguard their own interests. In fact, though, there are reports that the cancellation of ads in the *Dong-A Ilbo* stemmed from secret agreements between the government and *Dong-A*'s management. For management the deal offered a means to regain control over the news functions. It proved an ineffective maneuver, however, as the news staff decided to go on working without pay for a while, and because some reporters got wind of the secret deal. A friend who was my source of this background information summed it up:

The credit built up by the *Dong-A Ilbo* in the past several months will not vanish. The outlook of the people has changed. This bit of history cannot be reversed. However, the content of *Dong-A* as such has been altered. The support ads have disappeared. The news is reported, but not with proper

investigation and interpretation. The editorials will be the first to change; and as soon as management fully recovers control of the news operation, its alliance with the regime will begin to be reflected on every page. After all, the management is obligated to the government for allowing advertisements to be renewed. But the people remain watchful, and for commercial reasons *Dong-A* cannot afford to lose its popularity. Hence, it will be careful not to lose its popular image as a fighter. It is very important to keep an eye on how the tensions between management, the people, and the protesting journalists are all worked out. In the long run, the most crucial problems raised by this struggle for Korea as a whole are those rooted in the limitations of a newspaper operating under the wing of a powerful zaibatsu.

“A newspaper does not belong exclusively to the owners of a news company”—will this lesson not resound throughout Korean history from now on? Will it not serve, especially after the Park regime is gone, to foster creation of a new kind of press? If the struggle with the Park regime gives birth to the need for a new press style and function, then it is, despite all the pain, a cause for joy.

Catholic-Protestant solidarity in the struggle, meanwhile, has been greatly enhanced. In the very near future Protestants will form, we hear, their own “National Christian Ministers’ Corps for the Realization of Social Justice” similar to the Catholic Priests Corps for the Realization of Justice. Already 150 pastors have signed up, and announcement of its formation is expected within a week [the announcement came on March 20, 1975]. Commitment to the struggle remains unyielding.

APRIL 1975

Torture that leaves no scars

(Apr. 7)

April and May are a cruel season in Korea. It may be that nature's beauty blossoms forth in stark contrast to human ugliness. More to the point, spring brings new energy that stirs Korea's university campuses to heroic protests which are then crushed with inhuman brutality.

The president of Yonsei University approved reinstatement of two professors and fourteen students released from prison, only to be himself forced to resign under government pressure. "Compromising with realities is not so difficult," he confessed when submitting his resignation, "but I simply could not turn my back on ideals which the students pursue so earnestly." University administrators are faced with a real dilemma: expel released professors and students as the government insists, and risk denunciation by the students at large; or resign, which may preserve one's own integrity but in no way prevents the professors and students from being expelled anyway. Two or three days ago six thousand Yonsei students held a big rally to burn in effigy the education minister. This sort of thing spreads easily to other campuses, precipitating an outburst of reaction in which schools are closed and punishments meted out. Under the Park regime it is impossible to keep the campuses both open and peaceful. When party chief Kim Young Sam and forty other NDP members marched in the streets of Pusan, two thousand citizens joined them and stood fast even when riot police lobbed tear gas bombs at them. Cheers and applause broke forth from the windows of tall buildings. Beneath the silence enforced by violence there simmers a rebellious mood.

Former President Yun Po Sun, NDP chief Kim Young Sam, Kim Dae Jung, and Unification Party chief Yang Il Dong reportedly have reached a consensus in principle to consolidate the opposition forces. This move is said to be aimed at regaining the trust of the people and friendly nations. Gathered in the seclusion of Yoido island in the Han River for an Easter sunrise service, two hundred thousand Protestants at 5:30 A.M. shouted their determination to stand up for justice. In times of crisis everyone seeks earnestly for something worthwhile. But theirs was only the faint call of a minority; who knows, a stronger call may have only led to unbearable pessimism. Assemblymen of the so-called ruling party, meeting in a closed-door session in the National Assembly building's lounge, in only one minute passed twenty-five bills—including one for revision of the Criminal Code to provide for up to seven years imprisonment for Koreans who slander government agencies in the presence of foreigners. What sort of men are these, who take pride in being legislators yet enact such despicable laws?

The same kind of gangsterism has silenced the voice of poet Kim Chi Ha. The KCIA has now made public a confession, purportedly written by Kim himself, that he is a communist. An appended explanation claims that this is the second of three personally-penned confessions he is supposed to have composed. Why were the first and third not also made public? On the other hand, a memo written by Kim when in jail on NFDYS-related charges is attached to his "second confession." The latter opens with this line:

The writer, to summarize previous testimony, the writer is a communist devoted to Marxism.

"The writer" is repeated twice, but why? Just what had he written before? In the "prison memo" are found such drastic exclamations as "Ah, liberation, liberation, liberation! Overthrow the bourgeoisie, the archenemy!" The KCIA claims that, having written this memo in prison, Kim hid it in a chest after his release from prison. As a witness to substantiate the charges that Kim Chi Ha is a communist, the KCIA produced a friend and former uni-

versity classmate named Son, now serving a five-year sentence for violation of the National Security Law. Since he was sentenced on May 5, 1973, he is surely one who opposed the Yushin system. Evidence gained by a search of Kim's residence consists of literature designated as subversive: *Han Yang* magazine (published in Japan), one copy; *Chung Maik* (published in Korea), two copies; and notes summarizing an article by a left-wing Japanese intellectual. On these claims a certain friend readily commented:

The whole thing is a fabrication exacted from Son and Kim Chi Ha under extreme conditions. Who would write such dangerous stuff in a prison memo? Not one word in his own defense, just "the world doesn't know it, but I am a communist"—could anyone casually write stuff like that? Son's testimony and Kim Chi Ha's confession and prison memo all coincide too neatly. I know a great deal more about Kim's activities, but nothing else is mentioned. Maybe the KCIA thinks that's all they needed to frame him as a communist.

I asked this friend what he thought of the view held by some people that Kim Chi Ha, knowing he would die, had written his memo as a "confession of conscience" for future generations. He did not accept this view.

They may be planning to kill him. The all-out effort to brand him as a communist shows that the Park regime has decided Kim cannot be left alone as is. Certainly Park Chung Hee personally hates Kim Chi Ha with a passion.

Even if Kim did in fact write the confession himself, the question is, under what circumstances? Perhaps under humanly unbearable torture. Democratic people already know of Kim Chi Ha's "Declaration of Conscience" [see Appendix 1], and any report made public after his imprisonment that contradicts this authentic statement they regard as a frame-up, something done against his will. Another, more fearful report involves the PRP member's wife taken in for questioning by the KCIA (see p. 301). As explained

earlier, she was pressured, without sleep or rest, to sign a statement that her husband is a communist; and upon drinking a cup of water given her, she suddenly became euphoric and wrote and signed the statement as demanded. Now it has been leaked that the water was drugged to stimulate her to uncontrollable sexual desire.

Reports of recent tricks like this are rampant in Seoul. When U.S. Congressman Donald A. Fraser, who has been quite critical of the Park regime, recently came to Seoul he expressed a desire to meet students released from prison. He was told that it was impossible to do so because they were away on a trip. Rumor had it that the KCIA had taken them on a sightseeing tour. The truth is, though, they were confined to hotel rooms and forced to drink the same aphrodisiac-spiked water, and then prostitutes under orders were sent into their rooms. This is torture that leaves no scars. How does one deal with this sort of cruelty and immorality?

In a tale of torture reported in an underground newspaper one young person described the agony of physical and mental torture as "in a word, human hell." Moreover, the torture is inflicted by stages. Of the first stage he relates:

There's one little trick that is terribly painful. They put a ball-point pen between your fingers and, while pressing the fingers together, spin the pen around. If done long enough, the skin is ripped off; but usually they stop before the skin is torn and skillfully press the skin back into place so that it leaves no scars. But in my case they went too far, so I can always show my scars.

The next stage is for keeping the words of confession flowing. If the words do not come, the person is clubbed. They say it is awful. In the third stage the subject is made to kneel with a club inserted in the folds of his bended knees, and the torturers step on his thighs. In the fourth, the subject must lie on his back and a chair is pressed down on his neck or chest. This is particularly painful because one feels his breath being cut off. The fifth torture, in the assailants' words, is called "giving them a drink of beer (or liquor)." The

victim is hung upside down, his nose is plugged with cloth, and then water is poured into his mouth. And the last stage involves electric torture, which the young person said caused him to lose consciousness several times.

This youth said he could only wait for the sun shining into his cell to know that his time of torture had passed. Most torture was carried out during the day. But at times the screams of those tortured at night aroused dreadful scenes before his very eyes. Without pause, the victims wailed, "Mother! Mother!" The PRP group, he added, were subjected to far more horrible tortures. What kind of men does it take to commit such barbarous tortures? How can human beings sink to such sadistic levels?

A group of foreign missionaries in Korea sent a report on human rights to the U.S. Congress, in which they urged that while it is not clear whether torture is still employed, the important point concerns what attitude is taken toward past torture. The Korean government insists that there have been no instances of torture "so far as we know." Testimonies of torture are now so numerous the government finds it necessary to add the proviso "so far as we know."

The Park regime repeatedly invokes the threat of invasion from the North to justify its brutality. It claims to have discovered tunnels under the DMZ (demilitarized zone) dug by the North and proclaims that vital areas in the South could be occupied within three days, despite the fact that the tunnels could not possibly accommodate large troop movements. The *New York Times* reported that South Korea-based American military officials denied this possibility, though this denial never appeared in Korean newspapers. It also reported some Western diplomats and military men as saying that the greatest threat to ROK security is not that from the North but, rather, the ROK government's own exaggerated publicity of a northern threat, along with the political instability in the South. Of course, these reports are also not heard in Korea. Even so, underground newspapers sometimes carry news from the outside.

Lately we have learned through the Japanese press of President Park's scandal [the return of an actress from Paris after his wife's death] and through the American press of growing dissatisfaction with the Park regime among the ROK military leadership. Park's personal scandal is already widely known in Korea, but it is interesting to note that it is beginning to be circulated abroad.

Death sentences amidst weeping and wailing (Apr. 15)

We never believed it could happen. But, then, we completely underestimated the Park regime—we thought it only ruled by violence, but in fact it rules by murder. We thought that even Park is a human being, that he himself had tasted the grief of losing a wife. Perhaps we must reconsider the rumors, rife among the people, that behind the mystery of her assassination stands the president himself. Or the rumor that with the assassination, Park's children became very cool toward Kim Jong Pil. We also hear that there is a desire among his daughters to enter a convent. In any case, Park Chung Hee has sought to prolong his rule by executing eight men of the PRP. And, successful or not, the murderous act exposes Park as no more than a beast of prey.

At 10:00 A.M. on April 8 the Supreme Court convened to render its final verdict on the appeals of the eight defendants of the "People's Revolutionary Party"—and adjourned after only ten minutes. None of the defendants or defense lawyers were present. The fifteen members of the defendants' families present began weeping and wailing. Father James Sinnott, who had joined the families in their struggle, was carried bodily out of the courtroom for his temerity in shouting "It's a frame-up, it's unjust!" at the judges. After three hours of bitter weeping the families were herded into a bus, but only after the wives had exacted from authorities a promise that on the following day (April 9) they would be allowed a final meeting with their condemned husbands.

The families were waiting on the next day for the promised 9:00 A.M. meeting—their last single slim thread of hope—when someone

finally informed them that a 10:30 A.M. radio newscast reported the execution had already been carried out. The place was turned into a battlefield, calmed eventually by another promise that the bodies would be turned over to the families on the following morning (April 10). On the morning of the next day, however, they were told this would be postponed to 12:30 P.M. Later it was learned that the delay was a maneuver to prevent the PRP men's families from attending the regular Thursday morning prayer meeting held in the Christian Center by the Association of Families of the Arrested.

As it turned out, at half past noon the families were told they would not be given the bodies. The authorities themselves would directly handle their burial or cremation. In fact, they explained, six of the bodies had already been dispatched to Taegu, their place of origin. Then someone brought word that a truck carrying one body had been seen passing through Seoul's West Gate on its way to a crematorium. The truck was finally overtaken about three kilometers from West Gate in the northern Seoul district of Unpyungdong, and there from two to four o'clock in the afternoon a struggle for possession of the body ensued. A Catholic priest and several wives lay down before the wheels of the truck until at last the relatives and friends were able to get the truck to move in the direction of a nearby Roman Catholic church to administer the last rites. Thousands of people thronged to the scene and newsmen were busily taking pictures (needless to say, no pictures or stories appeared in the national press). For a while the situation was beyond the control of the police on the scene, and thus they assumed a rather passive posture, perhaps fearing a popular riot. In due course riot police arrived, seized the body, and hauled the truck away by crane.

Evidently the authorities would not permit the bodies to be seen or last rites to be received because the bodies would bear the unmistakable marks of torture. This must also be why the defendants did not appear in the final session of the Supreme Court. One report has it that the executions had already been carried out

at Seoul's West Gate prison at the predawn hour of 5:00 A.M. on the day the final verdict was passed. Another story says they had already died from torture, no execution was needed. Either way, the defendants had already departed from this world before they were condemned to die. Nonetheless, all thirteen judges presided over the final "sentencing." What can be said for such men? Only that they are villainous scoundrels in a class with murderers, men with "the face of a human and the heart of a beast." Yet they presume to judge other men. The moral disintegration of the Park regime easily matches that of the corrupt, tyrannical regimes that ruined Cambodia and South Vietnam.

April 9, officially "Newspaper Day," was a day without any newspapers. Virtually no foreign journalists were in Seoul (only one BBC correspondent, says one source). Why were the heinous murders committed under such unusual circumstances? Precisely because the Park regime sacrificed these eight men to legitimize its fabricated case against the National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students (NFDYS) it had of necessity to cover up all evidence. What would it mean if, as the Park regime insisted, these men had actually acknowledged the spurious charges of being communists, of having committed all the alleged crimes, and thus had deserved death?

These men did not die for their political convictions; they were put to death on trumped-up charges of being revolutionaries seeking to overthrow the government and set up a communist-led one. Most likely they refused to plead guilty because they knew that to do so would mean sure death. They were butchered, instead, for resisting. They should have been allowed to see their families once after final sentencing, but this would have clarified the extent of any torture—the scars and bruises would have been clearly exposed. Thus the slaughter had to be performed quickly and without eyewitnesses. One pastor said tearfully, "Truly, they were chosen to walk death row bearing in their bodies the bitterness of the people."

One person is said to have caught a glimpse of three of the

bodies, and they seemed relatively less scarred than the others must have been. Even at that, they clearly had been beaten severely. The younger brother of Yo Chung Nam (30 years old), the youngest of those executed, attempted suicide by self-immolation, but failed. However, Yo's family managed to get into the crematorium and have a look at his body; his face was distorted beyond recognition and his fingers had been cut off. Are Park and his hardliners now celebrating this as a "great victory"? Infuriated by the hero's welcome given the released prisoners by the people, Park Chung Hee has taken his revenge. Eight innocent men were sacrificed in vengeance upon the people's resistance. The desperate fight against their execution waged by Catholic and Protestant foreign missionaries will never be forgotten by the oppressed people of Korea.

On April 10 the regular Thursday morning prayer meeting was held at the Christian Center in downtown Seoul. In his sermon the Rev. Moon Dong Whan (Stephen) was moved to exclaim:

I have written on the theology of liberation, but now I must preach a theology of indignation and protest. Wicked men stalk the streets masquerading as good men. They are killers, the whole lot of them, and they strangle the innocent. Who can contain his fury when the poor, without education or social status, much less enough to eat or wear, are robbed of their rights to speak or even live—while the scoundrels live in luxury and abuse their positions of power to do as they please? To whom can we appeal, and what good does it do? What meaning does Jesus Christ have for the bitter and angry people of this land? . . . But let us pray, let us send forth our cry, and let us make our protest, our demonstrations.

In a choked voice he lifted up the life of Jesus, who made his appeal in blood and offered up his life in a protest for justice. The venerable Quaker scholar Ham Suk Hon prayed that Korea's history never again be plagued with such beastly savagery, and called for unflagging faith, righteous judgment, and forgiving

hearts to conquer this beastliness in human life. The gathered group were truly overwhelmed with weeping and wailing. Beyond any doubt the Thursday prayer meeting is a torch that has kindled the conscience of this nation. And from this conscience has flowed the energies for many actions. Certainly it was this prayer meeting that bore witness that the eight PRP men died at the hands of murderous men. The prayers could not restore the physical lives of the executed eight, but they gave wings to the outcries of innocent men and their families.

The Park regime from now on will probably concentrate its tyranny on the Thursday prayer group, particularly since closing the campuses has silenced that source of protest. Indeed, its brutality may well be already under way, for the prayer leader and preacher of the April 10 meeting have already been arrested. Those who gathered on that day rushed out to help claim the bodies, while Ham Suk Hon stood on the courthouse steps and, at great risk to his own life, delivered to people assembled there a bitter denunciation of the brutal government and a demand that the truth be told.

Meantime, Emergency Decree No. 7 had been issued on April 8, ordering Korea University to close its doors; violators were threatened with arrest without warrant and punishment of three to ten years in prison. Troops occupied Korea University's campus in a typical limited use of the military to suppress antigovernment activities without going into total martial law. It was a preventive measure aimed at the fifteenth anniversary of the April 19 (1960) student revolt.

By April 8 the Korea University students were into the third day of a demonstration. Riot police lobbed tear gas bombs at the demonstrators, but winds wafted the gas back toward the police. The students reportedly burned Park Chung Hee in effigy that afternoon. At 5:15 P.M. over four hundred armed troops of the Capital Defense Garrison swarmed onto the campus, and the students, having experienced before the brutality of these troops, fled out the back gate. About one hundred students waiting for a bus at the

front gate, upon witnessing this scene, burst forth spontaneously in tearful singing of the national anthem. The riot police advanced and herded thirty-five or so of them into a truck and drove off.

Rumors are rife as to why Korea University was closed. According to one, all campuses in Seoul had planned to rise up on the same day, but KCIA stooges infiltrated the Korea University student group and provoked its action ahead of schedule. Some say closure was precipitated by the students' criticism of inadequate response to the *Dong-A Ilbo's* present ordeal on the part of Korea University's president, who had tried instead to champion the allied interests of the university and the *Dong-A* family of enterprises and thus was willing to cooperate with suppression of the student demonstration. Today's newspapers report 123 students have been expelled and fifty-one suspended. Of five hundred demonstrators at Seoul's Shin Il High School, there were nine expulsions and 120 suspensions. The Seoul Municipal Board of Education has instructed school principals that they will be fired if they fail to squelch demonstrations in advance. Meanwhile, over two hundred students are in KCIA or police custody. Hardlining repression is the only option left to the Park regime.

Today I had my first opportunity to discuss with friends the execution of the eight PRP men. Denying last rites to the condemned men should arouse denunciation throughout the world. And the possibility is strong that "reds" in the churches may be falsely charged with directing mission funds to PRP-related persons. One of our group advanced this opinion:

The KCIA has reached a peak of sadism. They have been pushed to it by Park's insanity. The man is a mad dog. He'll bite anyone. There's no telling what will happen to Kim Chi Ha and the recently arrested church leaders.⁵⁹ If only more international pressure could have been brought to bear on behalf of the PRP people. . . ; but then, those outside Korea probably never really believed these men would be sacrificed so callously. They probably thought even a mad dog like Park must have some humanity. We must work very fast to save

Kim Chi Ha and the church leaders.

Another participant in our discussion suggested that even a mad dog must make certain calculations:

The Park regime is trying to show that no amount of criticism abroad makes any difference here. Park Chung Hee knows there are some people not afraid of being jailed, so now he's threatening to brand any opponent as a "communist" and kill him. And he's resigned to international criticism. This threat may work for a while. Above all, he wants to demonstrate that America cannot guarantee the safety of citizens struggling for democracy in Korea.

This is the sort of analysis common among Koreans today as they face conditions that are, in the last analysis, utterly unthinkable for ordinary human beings. Under a president capable of boundless cruelty, who knows what tragedy will come next? The people may be rendered increasingly powerless. Like prisoners already condemned, we can only hope that world opinion goes into action before it is too late. I am reminded today of a prayer offered one day by the wife of one of the executed men:

In a world where all things are alive with hope, must we bow down breathlessly before such ruthless power? Are our prayers not heard, our pleas for mercy pouring out from the hearts of wives whose husbands face death sentences?

MAY 1975

Frozen republic

(May 8)

While feigning ignorance day by day
We meekly bend our ears to lies,
Like slaves and servants, phonies all,
Obedient to the crushing whip—
Oh, shame, shame, shame. . . .
But if, my friend, as listless ones
Whose stigma can't be cleared,
We're forced someday to fall before
The blazing guns of violent ones—
Then, falling, let us lift our final cry.

This is an excerpt from a rather long poem titled "Frozen Republic." The poet was dismissed from his job as a teacher in a girls' school for merely reading the poem aloud in a meeting. It is now being passed around underground.

In another month the heretofore closed universities, it is said, are to be reopened. In the meantime thirty-four students have been arrested and are still in jail. Another 220 are in custody, and nearly three hundred more students have been expelled. Some one hundred of the NFDYS students who were released from prison are not permitted to return to their campuses. Released professors are in a similar predicament. There are also some high school students in prison. Newspapers report that sixteen high school students in Kwangju (in Chulla Namdo province) were expelled because they tried to hold a memorial service to honor Kim Sang Jin, a fourth-year student of animal husbandry in

SNU's College of Agriculture who committed suicide to register his fervent yearning for democracy to be restored in Korea. The underground newspaper that introduced the "Open Letter to the President" and the "Declaration of Conscience" left behind by young Kim said of him:

This brother had long sought after justice and was deeply concerned over the democratic future of the fatherland. When the campus situation worsened with the passing of death sentences on those implicated in the NFDYS case and the issuing of Emergency Decree No. 7 [ordering Korea University closed], Kim made his decision to offer up his young life for the future of his country. On April 9 he penned his Declaration of Conscience and his Open Letter to the President. Telling his family and friends on April 10 not to be surprised if something strange happened the following day, he read aloud his testimony at an on-campus demonstration at SNU's College of Agriculture on April 11 and resolutely ended his life at age twenty-seven [Kim Sang Jin's college career had been interrupted by a period of compulsory military service]. By casting his precious life on the side of justice and democracy, this brother demonstrated unmistakably that the campus demands are not mere romanticism or sentiment but something clearly worth sacrificing one's young life for. But, fearing an even worsened campus scene, the authorities stationed troops at campus gates and, hoodwinking the students gathered for a sit-in, ushered them away; they then muzzled the press to cover up the truth.

Kim Sang Jin breathed his last breath while being taken to a hospital after disemboweling himself. If the campuses are reopened now, the students will return in an atmosphere made painful and hostile by this sacrifice and the jailing and expelling of many of their friends. The emotional overcast is well depicted in these sentences from Kim Sang Jin's "Declaration of Con-

science”:

We can endure no more; we can no longer place any hope in this regime. We see the messengers of death approaching steadily through the dark, fear-ridden air that blankets society. There is no time to waver or worry. The universities are enslaved by forced closures; the professors are turned into apologists for the government. We cry out our anger, but there is no response: we are like chicks without a mother hen. . . . Our friends who fought on our behalf suffer on cold concrete [prison] floors. Innocent people disappear into prison like the morning dew. The tree of democracy thrives, it is said, on sacrificial blood. Listen, friends! We protest the cruel violence of the Yushin Constitution and all its evil and absurdity. . . . Let us raise high our flag of determination to build a democratic society of freedom and equality, and denounce before all history the militarized state that has come to suppress all political freedom by the politics of fear. From underground I shall watch your forward march with open eyes and a smile of satisfaction. I pray for the day of your great victory! May my silent cheers resound throughout the world. (April 11, 1975)

Kim's "Open Letter to the President" says in part:

Why do you not listen to the voice of the young students? Why do you ignore their patriotism? When I act according to the dictates of my conscience, risking my life, is my action based upon ignorance and irresponsibility? I do not believe my life is worthless. I do not believe that I am so foolish as to abandon my life due to my ignorance. Indeed, I believe that due regard and consideration should be given to the word of a person who confronts death. . . .

The great leader of a nation emerges out of the true and deep respect and desires of the people; he is never forged out of the enforced obedience of the people's hearts. . . .

I am convinced that the quality of great leadership lies in

the courage to step down from a position of glory. True national security begins with national unity, and only when the people are not oppressed by their leader and do not mistrust him can national unity be achieved. . . .

What is the unvoiced cry of the people? What is their unheard appeal? Does Your Excellency not know the answer?

I appeal to you with my death, out of my true patriotism and according to my own conscience, that Your Excellency make the noble decision, so that there will be no more innocent sacrifices and no more chaos in our society. It is self-evident that the people will carry on an eternal struggle to let the flower of democracy bloom, despite any and all oppression.

I pray for Your Excellency's health and happiness. (April 10, 1975)

The flames of student resistance had been ignited before, in April 1960, by the slaying of a youth by police (see n. 38). Kim Sang Jin probably hoped to set off a similar uprising by taking his own life. Is it perhaps the fierceness of the struggle that calls forth such beauty of the human spirit? Could be; but the tyranny over men's consciences is so corrupt and oppressive as to allow no mourning over his passing, and his precious outcry is forever consigned to oblivion. No mourners were allowed to attend his funeral, and youth who esteem him are exposed to severe punishment. Can we do nothing more than grumble, as did a friend, "Park's crazy"? The Thursday morning prayer meeting, started in response to NFDYS jailings, has been forced to discontinue. Not only students, but priests and ministers are also arrested and abused. Police harassment of Catholic meetings is commonplace.

In fact, there was something very strange about the forced closing of campuses, decided by the KCIA in order to tide over the hectic months of April and May. Suspension from school of known activists was not enough; the orders from the Ministry of Education were to expel them *and* close the schools. The strange thing was that as soon as a demonstration occurred, the education

minister came forth with a list of students to be expelled—including students who for personal reasons had missed the demonstration altogether. Then inquiries on behalf of the students revealed that the orders for expulsion had come from much higher up than the ministry itself and nothing could be done about it. A friend who managed to obtain this information from a high-level source explained:

The Blue House has a staff of two thousand persons. These days they are the source of all student punishments, under direction of His Excellency. Orders go out directly to the KCIA's Section Five investigative units, and the KCIA head has no say in what happens. No investigations are made; they simply follow orders to arrest, punish, or expel so-and-so. The orders are absolute. These sacrifices are carried out without any particular relation to some incident or case. This is the way it was with the death sentences imposed on the People's Revolutionary Party men—not penalties for specific deeds, but intimidation of those who would remain alive.

With the PRP executions the Park regime has aroused a deep dread of the atrocities it is capable of, and in the process has exposed its sole means of maintaining political power. It survives by threat and must of necessity continually harden its line. Thus our grief can only deepen as this country becomes in every way a "frozen republic."

One by one the Park regime implants in history the fearful marks of the bankruptcy of fascism, taking advantage of every weakness to exercise violent repression. Courageous university professors, for example, are effectively isolated from the timid majority and, when safely isolated, are arrested or dismissed. The same tactics are used on the churches and newspapers. All this is done, of course, while calling for "national unity" to stand against the claimed threat from the North. Skeptical people naturally look for other explanations: is it all simply to prolong his rule,

or to split the people in a Vietnam-like tragedy for someone else's benefit?

As a matter of fact, one rumor doing the rounds in Seoul points to a number of undisclosed "consultants" presently attending Park Chung Hee. No one knows who they are. The overt ruling powers, says this rumor, merely dance to the tune of these hidden figures currently behind Park. As if to substantiate this line, another holds that late last week, on May 3, the ROK army planned a few random forays into northern territory. U.S. forces, it is said, learned of the plan in advance and stopped it from being carried out. Having staked its life on withstanding the northern threat, the Park regime necessarily must keep it alive.

I have also learned something of Kim Chi Ha's situation from a fairly reliable source. "I am a communist devoted to Marxism" ran his so-called confession, but this is utterly unacceptable to common sense. It turns out that Kim Chi Ha was denied any sleep for several days until he could be forced to write this spurious "confession." He has since slipped a message out of prison: "I apologize to all those who have supported me, and beg their forgiveness." Moreover, his "prison memo," submitted by the KCIA as evidence of his communist connections, is a scissors-and-paste job contrived from his notes for a proposed ballad [see Appendix 1, pp. 396-406], photocopied as a single composition. The people, of course, do not know this. Likewise, many people have been persuaded by the KCIA that the PRP men were communists.

The KCIA tried, and failed, to make a PRP case stick back in 1964; this time it seems, so far, to have succeeded. It has been unable, though, to pin "contacts with the North" on Kim Chi Ha, so it has to settle for a case of "self-made communist" against him. According to my sources, other "communist" intellectuals will be dredged up—and "contacts with the North" are not needed to condemn such framed "communists" to death. The Park regime continues to write its dreadful history with heightened madness.

Emergency Decree No. 9

(May 17)

On May 13 newspaper extras hit the streets of Seoul to announce new Emergency Decree No. 9 prohibiting "denying, opposing, distorting or defaming the Constitution" under threat of "arrest, detention, search or seizure, without warrant" and "imprisonment for a period of not less than one year" [see Appendix 2]. The general response is one of dejection mixed with resigned acceptance of the inevitable. The prelude to proclamation of this decree was an orchestrated deluge of statements on the demise of Vietnam, exaggerations of the northern threat, and declarations and mass rallies against communism. The overall message is that the corrupt politics of violence will continue to pursue its uncompromising course.

"Not less than one year's imprisonment" is a strange stipulation—heavier sentences up to and including death are possible. But unlike previous Emergency Decrees, the term "death sentence" is not used. Apparently there was some reluctance to state it bluntly. In this craftily construed decree not only are individual violations targeted for punishment, but "the Minister in charge may issue orders or take measures . . . against any school, organization, or company to which the violator is attached"—personnel in these agencies can be fired or expelled; schools, companies, and other organizations can be closed or dissolved; broadcasts and publications can be banned and all media can be disbanded; and all licenses, registrations, and other authorizations can be revoked. This hardline but vague decree has aroused anxious queries such as "Can churches also be disbanded?" and "Have we reached the point where newspapers may not even be able to report a murder?"

Signs of a buildup of this avalanche of repression have been visible in many places for some time now. The government's excessive publicity of Saigon's defeat and the North's threat has definitely put the opposition forces into some disarray. The ruling class can, after all, plunder until the last moment, then escape

with the nation's wealth. Thieu persisted in his errors without reflection, brazenly criticizing America and prodding his own people to fight, until the day of his fall. Today, while the role of dictators in the Third World is being severely criticized, Park's critics ought to launch a determined, even sacrificial, attack. Instead, their mood is to reconsider the possibility of opening conversations with him, and this show of weakness has provided precisely the opening Park needed to launch his own offensive. Perhaps the government's critics are simply too exhausted from overharassment. They lacked the wisdom for a cool response to the impact of Vietnam and Kim Il Sung's visit to Peking. Above all, they have underestimated the Park regime, much as they did in never believing it would actually execute the PRP defendants. The general public rather expected the regime to relax its basic posture toward themselves and the opposition. Opposition leaders even requested an interview with the president and offered to refrain from criticism. But Park made his counterattack at precisely this moment, sweeping his opponents aside with a new wave of repression.

The opposition should have held fast and maintained its just critique, even though the course of events reduced their already minority strength. But they woefully lacked that capacity. Hordes of opportunists found all kinds of excuses to run to the ruling power's side, rupturing opposition solidarity at many levels. Various unprincipled groups, heretofore silent but sensing now the shifting winds, have come forth to claim they possess the proper views, they represent the majority of the people, and to denounce those who have sustained the antigovernment struggle as being against the people's interests. Thus a fierce assault on those long active in the struggle is unleashed, to force them into a corner and annihilate them.

The ultrahawkish revival of the ruling group is disgraceful. The commander of the national guard has just been made president of the People's Council for Total Security, an organization formed by thirty-eight religious, women's, and business groups.

At an assembly of "1.4 million citizens" on May 10, he pledged to "save the country and crush communism." Though opposition leaders, including Yun Po Sun, Yu Jin Oh, Ham Suk Hon, Kim Young Sam, and Kim Dae Jung, refused to be named as advisors to this council, he boasted, "If they reject their nomination as advisors to the very end, then we will censure them in the name of all the people." Once appointments as advisors and committee members are announced (without the consent of the appointees), it is impossible to revoke the appointments, he warned. What other ugly, fearsome moves are yet in store for us?

To these excesses are added now a rash of comic anticommunist rallies. On the banks of the Imjin River, where the mountains to the north can be seen, five thousand Christians held a mass rally "to save the country for unification." A spokesman for the government appealed for "consolidation of Christians under the leadership of President Park to rescue the country from its present crisis." Messages to be sent to the president and to the moderator of the U.N. General Assembly were adopted. Of particular interest was the participation in this rally of President Park's daughter, who delivered a moving address. This twenty-four-year-old girl was nominated as honorary president of the sponsoring "Christian Mission Society to Save Korea." This kind of burlesque is one of Park's anti-North, anticommunist stratagems. And while the participants in such rallies may experience some immediate psychological comfort, their flag-waving frolic will surely be followed by hollow-hearted despair.

The Ministry of Culture and Public Information has issued a pamphlet titled "Why Did South Vietnam Fall?" with the subtitle "How to overcome communist aggression." It lays the blame for Saigon's fateful fall on "those who made such a fuss over 'democracy' and 'human rights', not knowing they were entangled in the Viet Cong's aggressive tactics, and thus they plunged the nation into divisions and chaos that prevented it from going all out in its fight against communism." This pamphlet, therefore, concludes that South Vietnam's defeat resulted solely from

“political in-fighting, daily demonstrations, and divided national policies”—the fruits of a foolish populace—and finds no point at which to blame the Thieu regime. It does, however, point to American abandonment of Vietnam as one cause of the debilitating “domestic confusion” of South Vietnam. This “interpretation” of the Park regime contrasts sharply with world opinion. The ruling class is vindicated. Even if exploitation runs to extremes, even if the nation is destroyed, the rulers are safe. The fault lies with the people.

The Ministry of Culture and Public Information also issued a pamphlet explaining “the background of Presidential Emergency Decree No. 9 to preserve national security and public order.” It is indeed an “historic document.” In claiming the decree was issued in response to public desire, it appeals to

... the two million citizens [reported in newspapers as 1.4 million] who thronged to Seoul’s Yoido island plaza for a “Total Security Rally” and passed a resolution to the president “to undertake decisive measures to rout out and abolish immediately all domestic elements that impede total security and to push on to overcome communism and achieve unification.”

The people thus are pictured as desiring repression that includes arrest without warrant, punishments that range from one year to death, and license to disband any organization or close any school. What an extraordinarily “judicious people”! If the majority of the people were indeed so judicious, why on earth would a measure like Emergency Decree No. 9 be needed? As one senior friend grumbled disconsolately:

This nation has always been unable to think realistically and act wisely in critical times. Ground down by worthless powers, it tends to lose sight of the changing course of history. Once again this fault is being repeated. In the South, of course, but in the North too, in a way. Here in the South it is the mindless hysteria of “crush communism, overcome com-

munism." And the cascade of "cleansing" will eventually carry off also all that's good in this country, all the conscientious, intelligent, and realistic elements. What is to become of the people? I never really believed Park Chung Hee was such an evil man. I too was very naive.

I felt the same way but, wanting to offer some consolation, suggested that somehow the people had always managed to carry on. Nodding gravely, his countenance became increasingly pained. Heavy silence hung over us. Trapped, North and South, under tyrannical rulers who see the present crisis as a golden opportunity for entrenching control over their subjects, how are we to survive? What is the point of maintaining silence before men insensitive to human sorrow, who spit on the misery of others, indeed, who callously put innocent persons to death? In a time like this resistance is no mere matter of politics; it roots in the people's refusal to let their own souls perish.

A ruling party spokesman has expressed his belief that the opposition parties should cease all political activities, now that Emergency Decree No. 9 is in effect. Article 6 of the decree permits them to express opinions in the National Assembly but forbids any reporting of "said opinions" by the news media. With less than one-fourth of the National Assembly seats, the opposition can do nothing in the Assembly, and outside it they are under constant KCIA scrutiny. Moreover, the opposition parties are said to be riddled with stooges. Certainly courageous, outspoken opposition politicians are only a small minority, and now even they have been muzzled. Emergency Decree No. 9 is a signal that anything can happen, a threat to all the opposition to cooperate with the ruling party, or else. Not surprisingly, the stooges and cooperative elements are reportedly taking over leadership in the opposition parties, now that neither the people nor the media, all silenced, can say them nay.

In such conditions, what can we ask of our friends abroad? I cannot help thinking of the seven Catholic and Protestant missionaries who protested the execution of the PRP men by donning

black hoods with hangman's ropes around their necks and then demonstrating at the American Embassy in Seoul. Originally there were to be eight of them, like the PRP eight, but the Roman Catholic priest Fr. Sinnott did not join in because he had been given his third warning by immigration authorities. The missionaries protested the embassy's "quiet, secret diplomacy." Rare statements "deploring" inhuman abuses in Korea may be harsh diplomatic language, but are totally ineffective for influencing the Korean government in its advanced stage of moral degeneration.

The seven missionaries pressed their complaints upon the American ambassador: "Does this mean nothing to you?" "What use is quiet diplomacy?" "The eight men were unjustly executed." They also denounced American economic and military aid to Korea as contributing to the debasement of human rights.

Fr. Sinnott was in due course deported. But we are told he will give testimony at a congressional hearing. How ironic that the same America which fought so valiantly against fascism in World War II now clasps hands with South Korea and other fascist regimes in Asia. Likewise, the Japanese so eager to promote ROK-Japan relations are those of the old prewar fascist line. America, then, joins Japan's long-time fascists in propping up the Park regime. Given this powerful coalition, the fighters for democracy in Korea seem pitifully weak. All the more, then, must we appeal to the conscience of the whole world for help.

What do conscientious friends in Japan and America think of Korea today?, we wonder. Do they not, above all, share our prayer that war may not break out again on this peninsula? The political options may seem to be limited to a choice between the communism of the North or the fascism of the South. It may well appear plausible that the North will launch an all-out offensive (I myself do not think so) if for no other reason than to "liberate" the Korean people from the corrupt fascism of Park Chung Hee. I should like our overseas friends, however, to put aside such thinking based only on the present power situation and certainly to refrain for a while from simplistically reducing

our options to only these two current systems.

Most of all we wish our foreign friends not to lose sight of those of us who struggle in the belief that all the Korean people can be peacefully reunited. We do not want to be drawn—or pushed—into spilling each other's blood again. Willful powers must not be allowed to oppress and purge at will. Our effort to appeal may seem small, indeed, in the face of current realities, but that is because it must be made under the limitations of force imposed by measures like Emergency Decree No. 9. It is both a proper appeal and one that expresses the mind of the people, and it must not be discounted merely because it is not backed by actual power. Not might, but right must be encouraged, from within and outside the country. If one looks below the surface of violence, he will discover that it is this sense of what is right that permeates and binds our people together.

Ill winds will rage yet a while, and the heavy silence will prevail. But someday, at some point, this tyrannical system will begin to give way. Then, like a drunk awakening from his stupor, the people's true will shall spring forth. I shall never give up hope but, strengthening my conviction and conception of the struggle, will search with my colleagues for the slim chance to dislodge the enemy. Even so, my heart aches over the endless pain and sacrifices of the people, especially the youth.

JUNE 1975

The garrison state

(June 1)

Social instability is a prerequisite for fascist control—and the collapse of South Vietnam has cast anxiety over all Korea. The Park regime has exerted every effort to magnify the uneasiness. The newspapers are daily plastered with headlines instilling fear of the North, as is evident in these samples:

GOVERNMENT ACTIVATES 'NATIONAL MOBILIZATION'
RESOLUTE READINESS AGAINST EXTERNAL CHALLENGE
U.S. TO INTERVENE AUTOMATICALLY IF WAR ERUPTS IN
KOREA
R.O.K.-U.S. AIR DEFENSE STRENGTHENED
NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ADOPTS SECURITY RESOLUTION
STUDENT DEFENSE LEAGUE FORMED AT ALL UNIVERSITIES
AND HIGH SCHOOLS

To look at a newspaper is to experience a moment of fear. The Presidential Emergency Decrees have put the newspapers under the full direction of the KCIA. At one news company both the editor and assistant editor reportedly are KCIA men who check on all managerial and reportorial functions and exercise special scrutiny over the loyalty of reporters.

Organization of the Student Defense League will be carried out in the fall term; the objective is the militarization of all academic life. Students so ordered by superiors will be authorized to subject their classmates and underclassmen to surveillance and punishment. The president, of course, is to be commander-in-chief of the nationwide mobilization. Company commanders

and above will receive their appointments directly from national headquarters. Many other student organizations will be abolished; only cultural clubs, Boy Scouts, and the like will be left intact. Christian student organizations at a number of campuses have already been ordered to disband. They obviously have no place in the new Student Defense League.

It is reported that there are those who warmly welcome this militarization scheme. In one place mothers are said to have formed a "Mamas' Auxiliary." Some 503 ministers belonging to the "Christian Mission Society to Save Korea" underwent, at their own request, three days of military life to revive their patriotism. The thought of such "good deeds" spreading across the land sends cold shivers down one's spine.

Not only have newspapers been turned into government organs to intensify fear of the North, now it is said that a "Security Measures Act" will be enacted to control "crimes of thought" by "preventive custody" and "residential restrictions." Already "defense gifts" are made to manifest patriotic fervor for overcoming communism; even foreign companies in Korea reportedly make these gifts. A strange fever is sweeping over this country.

One example of the temper of the times comes from the Korean Newspaper Association and the Korean News Broadcasting Association. While proud of their vanguard role in promoting "defense gifts," these two associations issued a resolution on "eliminating media irrationalities," which said in part:

To do away with all inconsistencies in society, all journalists of our two associations unanimously resolve to eliminate all irrationalities in the public media and to take the initiative in strengthening our national unity.

This is no time to shout about freedom of the press. Quite the contrary, it is a time, they say, to reflect on one's own selfishness in having made so much fuss earlier on that score. Anyone lacking such self-reflection cannot serve today in a news agency. The government, news management, and reporters must be united.

Not a few who seek personal comfort and advancement are delighted with this trend. But many people find it disgusting.

In the 1967 and 1971 elections the Park regime promised "to abolish Seoul's slums and provide housing for the poor" and in fact erected apartment buildings in many places, reinforced concrete structures expected to last for fifty years. Now, after only five years, the buildings are so run down they must be evacuated. The newspapers could come up with only such lame headlines as "CONSTRUCTION OR DEMOLITION: FRAUDULENT HASTE."

Park's politics is always equivocating; the slums do not vanish, they grow bigger; supposedly long-term citizens' apartments must be evacuated in only five years, with no alternatives provided. In an April 1970 tragedy one apartment building collapsed suddenly in the dead of night, taking thirty-two lives. Such things result from collusion between the government and corrupt contractors. Just as Park's "citizens' apartments" are collapsing, so public confidence in his "achievements" and the system they symbolize is eroding. Having forfeited all other bases for continued power, Park is forced to fall back on the military regimentation of society. Our history now hangs on the slim threads of domestic disintegration and external threat from the North. By now this must be apparent even to outsiders, who doubtless are also apprehensive over the future of this country.

Inside Korea, though, we are almost totally cut off from outside news sources. We are fed only one-sided news that stirs fear of the North. Gulf Oil's \$4 million political contribution to the Park regime in 1971 has, we hear, recently come to light in America; our response is, "Well, at last. . . ." It has long been common knowledge among us, though lack of hard evidence led many persons to dismiss it as rumor. Many, many iniquities of the Park regime still lie buried for the same reason. Gulf is hardly alone. What about the Japanese firms? Nissan Motors' sales promotion in Korea, with a local name meaning "new country," started—under a cloud of suspicion—back when the Park regime first came to power. Oil refineries were built and

went into overproduction; then domestic coal briquet production was suddenly scaled down and oil stove sales were briskly promoted. The stoves all came from Japan. Unsold out-of-date models from stockpiled Japanese warehouses flooded our markets. Some Korean homes were soon being heated with models originally made for silkworm cultivation. Into whose hands did all the profits from these overpriced imported stoves go? That is something worth investigating. There are countless instances of such wheeling and dealing; but who is there to speak out on such things? Is it not to keep the truth buried forever that the Japanese beneficiaries of these deals so eagerly support the Park regime?

Persons of affluence generally do not feel threatened by fascism. They think that fascism, unlike communism, does not prevent them from accumulating great wealth; indeed, fascism favors their profiteering. So, likewise, nation states bent on boosting national wealth are unwary of the dangers of fascism—though the hardships of the people increase proportionately.

With Gulf's \$4 million in his pocket, Park Chung Hee won the 1971 election over Kim Dae Jung, though of course the victor in that malpractice-ridden contest had many contributions besides Gulf's to lean on. There were innumerable other cases of underhanded assistance. That is why we could not accept Park's victory. And why, too, we have despised him in our hearts, viewed him as a criminal, and resisted him. Because these things are so well known it is impossible for him to retain power without regimenting the state and bottling up the entire populace like prisoners. Even if Gulf's political contribution is only the tip of the iceberg, its exposure alone undercuts the validity of Park's victory in the 1971 election. For this exposure we must express our belated thanks to the U.S. Congress.

Militarization, however, has somehow failed to throttle completely the voice of the Korean people. On May 22 six hundred students at Seoul National University's new campus held an on-campus demonstration against the present dictatorship, openly calling for the dictator to resign and for abolition of the Yushin

system. Encircling the protesters were three thousand students cheering them on. It was a demonstration in direct defiance of the May 13 Emergency Decree No. 9. The KCIA not only arrested the participating students but also some SNU graduates suspected of behind-the-scenes support. Not a word on this incident appeared in the newspapers. But the SNU president had to submit the customary resignation, and strict warnings have been sent to all universities, whose administrative autonomy has now vanished completely. There is hardly a person left on any campus who dares to contravene a directive phoned in from the Ministry of Education. Any spark of light to penetrate the darkness that has settled over the campuses must come, it seems, from those already prepared to sacrifice themselves.

A stormy wave of purges

(June 17)

The post-Vietnam focus of free countries in the Western world reportedly is centered on Korea. Their concern seems to be that loss of Korea to the communist camp would seriously upset the East-West balance. The Park regime is trying hard to capitalize on this fear in hopes of swinging world opinion to its side, particularly because a number of Western allies are beginning to reconsider their aid to the ROK government. In the view of one journalist friend:

Emissaries were sent to the U.S., Japan and Europe—to America, top leaders in the National Assembly. Publicly they ticked off Park's official line, but in private meetings with American politicians reportedly boosted their own personal interests, noting especially their private criticisms and misgivings with regard to Park's policies and methods. Many Americans are questioning why the U.S. picks its friends among the likes of Thieu and Lon Nol. And rumors are flying around about scandals involving the Park regime and a "Korea lobby" close to Congress.

According to this journalist, an American who traveled on KCIA money committed suicide because newspapers disclosed his source of funds. The Park regime has long bought off people with money and girls; now it is exporting its tactics overseas. Since Vietnam scores of persons related to foreign aid programs of other countries have come to Korea. Upon landing at the airport they are engulfed in so much KCIA-orchestrated red-carpet treatment they are henceforth rarely seen in ordinary places or among ordinary people. Foreign aid to Korea seems to rely heavily on the age-old wine-women-and-song routine.

Since promulgation of Emergency Decree No. 9 the Park regime has marshaled every possible means to muzzle the people, while attempting, on the other hand, to refurbish its international image. The main ploy is to invite prominent guests—most recently, outstanding American political scientists and Korean scholars residing in the U.S. Some receive invitations directly from the Ministry of Education, other invitations go out in the name of the “Asian Policy Research Center” and the “Korean Research Institute for International Relations.” The latter two are, of course, front agencies of the government. The leading figure in the Asian Policy Research Center is the former education minister, and he appears to have enlisted the cooperation of scholars from some of America’s most prestigious universities. The government’s “diplomacy by invitation” has currently reached boom proportions.

The Korean Political Scientists Society and the Association of Korean Political Scientists in the U.S. jointly sponsored a mammoth symposium, June 9–12, at which ninety-two papers were presented. A resolution was sent to the ROK government to hold such academic mass rallies regularly. The participants took no notice, however, of the Korean professors being dismissed from their academic posts even while this symposium was in progress. Perhaps it was not unlike a ceremonial dance before prisoners. How can political scientists be so apathetic in the face of political turmoil?

Speaking of turmoil, the Board of Trustees of Hankuk Theological Seminary finally decided to dismiss two professors and twelve students, thereby knuckling under to a threat of closure from the Ministry of Education. Many Christians considered closure of the seminary a fate easily accommodated by simply carrying on theological education in the churches. But, like the *Dong-A Ilbo*, the seminary chose not to sacrifice the institution; the seminary's trustees, like the newspaper's managers, backed down in favor of their personal comfort.

At Korea University as well, two professors have been fired and two more put on indefinite suspension. Yonsei University fired three professors and removed the vice-president from office. Reasons for these actions—of which we shall surely see more—are not announced, though presumably they were taken “to stabilize the atmosphere of study on the campuses.” Professors dismissed in these various moves were all strong advocates of the restoration of democracy and were less than enthusiastic about punishing student activists. One of the Yonsei professors had even once arranged a prayer meeting for students arrested in connection with the NFDYS affair. In short, vengeance against professors who have shown any sympathy toward student protest is now under way.

This vendetta is not unrelated to the eagerness of so many professors to dance at academic festivals like the political scientists' symposium. Scholars seem to be panic-stricken by the looming threat of precipitous dismissal. Rumors are rife that the Park regime is on constant lookout for vulnerable victims. The politics of fear has reduced all Koreans to acting out of the basest instincts for survival. It is depressing to see even university professors succumb to the same fever. For doing so they are despised no less than the Park regime itself, though they ought to be pitied for the weaknesses they merely share with all the rest of us. What really infuriates people are the professors who show no shame, only apathy, or worse, arrogance.

Personal frailties, however, pale before the harshness of the

regime. Many people felt, even hoped, that the defeat of South Vietnam would move the regime, despite all past betrayals, to reflect upon its course, or at least sense the need for some degree of self-evaluation. NDP head Kim Young Sam reflected this expectancy in his proposal for a meeting between himself and President Park. The outcome, far from evoking self-review, was a thorough stiffening of the government's stance.

Kim Young Sam met with Park Chung Hee in secret for two hours, after Emergency Decree No. 9 had been issued. Having successfully subjugated the people and completely muzzled the press and opposition parties, Park did not agree to a meeting or interview, but merely to "receive" Kim, to grant him an audience. Accepting an appointment on such terms was tantamount to offering cooperation with Emergency Decree No. 9. Of what transpired between them, nothing has been publicly reported.

But Seoul's streets flow with rumors. Kim apparently was completely overwhelmed by Park. Kim agreed, in particular, to go along with the Yushin system for the time being in order to preserve national security. As the rumor has it, Kim accepted Park's proposition: the fate of this nation rests upon your and my shoulders; why can't we postpone return to a democratic constitution until after the present crisis is overcome? The NDP thus forfeited its reason for existence, and the ruling party is trumpeting the agreement to cooperate as a total surrender by the NDP. The minority in the NDP who had supported Kim's heretofore hard line of opposition certainly feel defeated.

The downfall of South Vietnam is being used by Park, therefore, only for the putdown of his own people. Today (June 17) it was announced that all males between ages seventeen and fifty are to be mobilized for a people's defense force. Is there no end to harassment of the people? The mobilization is surely to be used to indoctrinate the men, to warn them to steer clear of all political activities. And all opposition politicians had better be either over fifty or female. Emergency Decree No. 9 demonstrated that the existence of opposition parties can no longer be tolerated. Defense

mobilization makes it clear that all civilian movements must serve government-defined security purposes or be suppressed out of existence.

Let it be quite clear, though, that there is a massive public reaction against this scheme. Many people who were once stirred by propaganda of the northern threat to go along with Park in the name of national security are now inclined to hold back. Everything, it turns out, is really only to keep his regime in power, and for that anyone at all may be fired, suppressed, arrested, and jailed. A senior friend who had previously been mildly critical of the Park regime now, in the post-Vietnam era and after participating in Park's security program, had this to say:

The security program is thoroughly oriented to keeping Park's regime permanently in power, there is no question about it. And it has gone too far. I am ashamed to be a part of it. I preferred to believe we were forging unity for the sake of national security, but then, why were serious-minded professors fired? I had in mind a spontaneous people's movement for defense, but had to ask myself why were the Student Defense League and the Civilian Defense Corps organized. The government had me and my colleagues perform public roles while it went about plunging the people into its own scheme of regimentation. We had our good intentions trampled upon by the regime's moves to solidify its own power and authority. All this, it explains, was necessary to assure victory over the North, to secure control over the people, to ensure the continuation of its power. Well, it is in fact the sure way to defeat. Leaving things in the hands of that lousy gang simply guarantees the collapse of this country.

The only people who will stay with the security program, he said, are either those who are bought off or those who for some reason are so vulnerable they have no room for maneuver. Vietnam's Thieu did not fall, he offered, because he was driven into a corner but because, by virtue of his own repressive policies, he

lost the trust and confidence of his own people—and any corrupt regime that forfeits the people's confidence will go the same route. He sighed, then clamped his mouth firmly shut.

To break out of our predicament by our own hands will be extremely difficult. Many will be swept aside by the torrential tide of reaction. But with history on our side, we shall not despair even when the going is toughest. The struggle begins, as always, precisely when our own pessimism is conquered.

POSTSCRIPT

Korea today is engulfed in tragic and needless suffering. Park Chung Hee has turned the country into a garrison state where he and his military clique give all orders and his KCIA acts as a gestapo to terrorize the people. Why? Why has such evil fallen upon Korea? Why are the people again forced to suffer so? Certainly their cup of suffering has overflowed in the twentieth century.

Park says that he must be a dictator and must turn loose the KCIA on the people for their own good. The nation, he claims, is about to be overrun by the communists and even if there were no communists it would still be necessary because Korea has got to overcome its poverty. Suffering, hardship, and sacrifice of human rights are required if the nation is to develop and defend itself.

Even a cursory look at the Korean situation makes Park's arguments highly suspect. The threat from the North did not begin in 1972 when Park forcefully set himself up as dictator. It has existed since the end of the Korean War in 1953. For twenty years the Korean people defended themselves against the North without a dictator. With a democratically elected government they were more than a match for the communists. The people of South Korea are so unified in their opposition to communism that they gave full support to their government in its struggle against the North. Park's claim that his military dictatorship is needed to defend the nation against the communists is a lie.

His claim that the exigencies of economic development require a military dictatorship is of a similar nature. Korea's greatest achievement in economic growth came while Korea was still a democracy. A disciplined, stable government is certainly an ad-

vantage to economic development, but stability and military dictatorship, or discipline and KCIA terrorism, are not to be equated. In the 1960s a democratic form of government supplied the stability needed for Korea's remarkable successes.

Park well knows the Korean people's hate of communism and their commitment to economic development, and so he plays on these two things in an attempt to coerce their support. Park also knows that the U.S. State Department is blindly committed to anything called anticommunism, and he is well aware that American firms in Korea are willing to pay almost any price to maintain their present favorable position. His arguments that only his military approach assures national security and economic development find ready acceptance among the Americans.

Thus Park uses two falsehoods to deceive his people and win support from the U.S.A. The real reason that Park has inflicted oppression on the Korean people is that neither he nor his small military clique could bear to give up their lucrative jobs. Up to the autumn of 1972 Korea had a democratic constitution. Repeatedly Park had promised the people he would leave office, as the constitution required, after two terms. He lied. Instead he called in the military and destroyed the democratic constitution. The reasons are simple. First, as a military man he could not give up authority; and second, his own greed would not allow him to turn over to someone else the lucrative job as head of state. Indeed, his military clique would in no way have allowed him to cut them off from the huge profits they were enjoying. It is that simple. Koreans must suffer the agonies of a ruthless dictator in order to satisfy the greed of a few military generals.

Park's military dictatorship is also a tragedy for the U.S.A. Over thirty thousand American soldiers died in Korea, and many tens of thousands more were wounded and maimed. American money to the tune of fifteen billion dollars has been pumped into this small country no larger than the state of Indiana. Ostensibly this investment of blood and money was to help Korea establish itself as a free democratic society. Korea was to be an alternative

to the communist model of development for the poor nations of the world. North Korea has a very regimented communist dictatorship. By developing both economically and democratically South Korea could show the superiority of a free society over a communist society. During the 1960s it looked like that goal was in fact being achieved. South Korea was developing on all fronts.

Then in 1972 Park Chung Hee obliterated the entire democratic system. The people were deprived of the right to select their own leaders. Opposition politics were forbidden. The KCIA took over the newspapers and broadcasting network; it closed down universities, eliminated labor unions, and sent spies into the churches. Park's enemies were arrested, tortured, and murdered.

The United States did nothing, made no reaction. Without any apparent agony of soul the U.S. government switched its support. Instead of the ideals of democracy and the advantages of a free society, American spokesmen began to trumpet Park's call for greater national security and defense against the communists. Ford visited Korea. Kissinger visited Korea, Schlesinger visited Korea. Congressmen and senators visited Korea. Silence!—except for increased calls for security. Without a whimper the men in Washington turned away from the goals and values originally set for American involvement in Korea. Justice, human rights, freedom from fear of storm troops, and democracy were all abandoned in the name of national security.

Now American government officials must resort to lies and chicanery to rationalize the new American stand. State Department officials take refuge in the false clichés that “Koreans don't understand democracy” and “Koreans like dictatorship; that is their way.” This allows the American leaders to say that the catastrophic events of 1972–76 have been caused by a weakness of Korean character. The failure of democracy is a fault of the Korean people and has nothing to do with U.S. responsibility.

The use of such falsehoods to justify the American position is indicative of the deception practiced in Washington. Koreans have certainly suffered much for what they call democracy, and certainly

they are better educated and better prepared for it than our ancestors were when they started off on the road toward democracy. Park Chung Hee uses American guns and tanks against the Koreans to prevent them from going on with their democracy, and the U.S. refuses to admit this. Instead, the government of the best-known democracy in the whole world shrugs its shoulders and says it does not matter. "Koreans don't want democracy," it is explained.

American government spokesmen like to play another game. "The United States does not interfere in the affairs of another country," is repeated over and over again, despite the obvious fact that there is not a sector of Korean society in which the United States is not directly involved. Does sending seven billion dollars worth of military equipment into a country the size of Indiana signify noninterference?

Prior to President Ford's visit to Korea in November 1974 some of us missionaries called on the American Ambassador to Korea, Richard L. Sneider, to express some of our concerns about human rights in Korea. He lectured us on how the U.S.A. never interferes in another nation's internal affairs but at the same time volunteered the information that America had used about six million dollars in an attempt to keep Salvador Allende from coming to power in Chile. The U.S. has been, and is, involved in almost every facet of Korean society. American money, personnel, labor unions, ideas, technology, education, and guns are found at every level of Korean life, and yet the government says we do not interfere. Indira Gandhi has not come close to violating human rights and democracy like Park, yet the U.S. government publicly chastises her and praises Park. Why?

Ostensibly the reason America backs the Park regime is to maintain a defense against the communist North. But is a tyrannical dictatorship a necessary condition for national security against the North? Obviously not. South Korea had defended itself against the North for twenty years without a military dictatorship.

What, then, are the real reasons for America's uncritical support of Park? There seem to be two. First, the U.S. government appears

to be under the sway of a simplistic mentality that equates military might and national security. Other factors get ignored or subordinated. Park's simple-minded psychology of identifying national security with the militarization of society has its counterpart apparently in the psychology of those Americans who head the government. Immediate pragmatic gain for the U.S. economy and military is the all-important goal. All else, including honesty and human decency, is manipulated to make that goal palatable.

The second reason America is adamant in its defense of Park is that the large American business presence in Korea appears to demand such a policy. The major presence is probably that of Gulf Oil. This one company gave three million dollars to Park Chung Hee just a few months before the last presidential elections in Korea (1971). Park, with Gulf's money, and probably some from other companies as well, managed to win the 1971 election by only a very small margin. Without that money Korean democracy might have been preserved. The *New Yorker* magazine summed up the American attitude toward Korea in these words: "The plain fact is that for some years now the American government has regarded ruthless, dictatorial regimes as safe havens for American interests."

But what else could the U.S. have done? It seems like America is "damned if it does and damned if it doesn't." What are the alternatives?

I do not believe that the Koreans are asking the U.S. to come in and forcefully set things straight. That is not the responsibility of America. But it is the responsibility of U.S. policymakers to show a little moral courage. Mothers and wives of men falsely imprisoned and tortured by the KCIA asked merely that President Gerald Ford not come to Korea. Neither Ford nor his advisors had the moral sensitivity or courage to respond. Ford came to Korea and promised untiring support for Korea's national security—just as Park predicted he would. The Korean people are not pleading with the U.S. to save them. They can handle that. But they are asking America to be honest about its own values. Gulf Oil did not have

to help destroy democracy. America's military does not have to help train the KCIA. American labor unions do not have to subsidize KCIA-dominated union leaders in Korea. Ford and Kissinger are not required to recharge Park's power every so often with statements of support. Koreans want to establish democracy in their land. Why should they have to struggle against U.S. power in addition to Park's?

The burden of Park's military rule is, of course, borne by the people of Korea. It is they who have to pay the price of American collusion with Park. It is they who have to live with the KCIA on their backs. According to the laws of Korea, workers in factories are allowed to organize unions, but when they attempt to do so, the KCIA subjects the leaders to threats and beatings. When Kim Mal Young, Korea's most courageous spokesman for the rights of labor, protested in 1974 against KCIA manipulation of the National Labor Convention, government agents connived and threatened until Kim's followers were forced to withdraw their support from him. Kim was not imprisoned, but he was isolated. Now he and the entire labor movement are under constant surveillance by KCIA agents. Life in a poor nation like Korea is tough in any case, but to have the daily intimidation of secret police on your back robs life of any joy it might have.

The greatest agonies have been suffered by the eight men whom Park hanged on trumped-up charges. They are dead, so no one will ever know of the physical and spiritual sufferings they underwent. Perhaps nothing is quite so humiliating as to be completely at the mercy of evil men who carry out sadistic rituals of interrogation and torture. For one full year Woo Hong Sun, Ha Jae Wan, To Rye Jong, Su Do Won, Lee Su Byung, Yu Chin Kon, Song Sang Jin, and Kim Yong Won were completely in the power of such men. These eight victims were used and then killed to help Park perform a political charade. Not content with hanging the men, the KCIA has continued to harass their wives and families. Wives have been subjected to long interrogations and beatings. Even the lives of their children have been threatened. How can you measure

the suffering of these people? Theirs is the most extreme suffering, yet their sobs of pain and agony reflect the soul of a whole nation undergoing senseless oppression.

Mrs. Woo Hong Sun loved her husband dearly. They had fallen in love when he was a young officer in the army. He had been wounded in action. Theirs was a deep, personal love. After twenty years of marriage that love was greater than when they first met. Woo Hong Sun was never a success in the world. He was barely able to earn enough as a clerk in a small company to keep his family together. But at night he and his wife would join hands and walk to the top of South Mountain to share each other's thoughts and experiences of the day.

Woo Hong Sun was taken away by the KCIA early one morning in April of 1974. For one year he was beaten and tortured and finally hanged, never having been able to defend himself against his accusers. Mrs. Woo, unlike some of the other wives, was allowed to view the broken body of her husband. She was allowed to bury him. She wept with such intensity of body and soul that she herself came near to death. Deep in the valley of death she wrote the following poem.

Where should I go,
where should I go
from now on, to meet you again?

Turning your head again and again
you'd leave our home in the morning and,
and always come back in the evening,
always you came back to me.

Even that short separation was long
and too long for me.
I counted the hours until you came back to me.

Where should I go,
where should I go
from now on, to meet you again?

Last spring, all of a sudden
you were taken away
without any reason.

After the spring, summer came
and autumn passed without
any sign of your return.

All through the long winter
I waited for spring to come
for, if spring came, I could see you
and I kept dreaming of that joyous day.
Even that dream I'm deprived of now,
I am refused even to feel the pain
that I had gone through
by waiting for you.

You were all that I lived for,
the spring where my strength to live came from.
Beloved one!

I would rather,
I would rather lie next to you
holding your pale tortured hands,
holding them tightly, tightly
and with a smile.
I would rather lie next to you
peacefully,
peacefully and quietly.

—Kwan Soon Hi, wife of Woo Hong Sun
[Translated from *Sekai*, July 1975]

Where does the needless, senseless, stupid suffering stop? No one knows, for Park is not ready to relinquish power and the U.S. government gives no appearance of wanting to be honest. So the senseless tragedy goes on. Word from inside Korea tells us that once again over one hundred students have disappeared and are

assumed to be in the torture chambers of the KCIA. Universities have been militarized. Professors and university presidents who object are dismissed or worse. Churches continue to be monitored, with some prayer meetings and worship services being under constant harassment. The secret police are everywhere. One's words must be carefully measured at all times.

But yet, with all that, Park cannot win. He can step on the necks of the people, as the Japanese once did, but the people are filled with the spirit of *Samil Chul*. Back on March 1, 1919, Koreans all over the nation rose up in nonviolent protest against their military masters, the Japanese. That spirit has been the herald of hope in Korea ever since. It is called "the spirit of March 1st," or *Samil Chul*.

On March 1, 1976, Korean Christians assembled in their churches to renew their commitment to *Samil Chul*. At the Myong-dong (Catholic) Cathedral in Seoul a "Declaration for Democratic National Salvation" was proclaimed by twelve prominent Catholic and Protestant spokesmen, including former ROK President Yun Po Sun, former presidential candidate Kim Dae Jung, National Assemblyman Chung Il Hyung, Quaker leader Ham Suk Hon, Korean National Council of Churches General Secretary Kim Kwan Suk, Rev. Moon Dong Hwan, former dean of Hankuk Theological Seminary, and others. The declaration was read that day by Ms. Lee Oo Jung, president of Korean Church Women United. She was arrested immediately after the service. It was her fourth trip to KCIA headquarters. She and the Christian women of Korea are determined not to bow down to the KCIA.

The following day six others were arrested, including Fr. Chang Dok Pil, the priest who officiated at the March 1st service. By March 3 all signers of the declaration had been arrested except Kim Dae Jung, Yun Po Sun, and Chung Il Hyung. On March 8, however, Kim Dae Jung was arrested, Chung Il Hyung was taken in for interrogation, and Yun Po Sun was questioned at his home (their wives were also arrested in this round-up). By March 8 confirmed arrests reached twenty-seven, though several have since

been released, including KNCC General Secretary Kim Kwan Suk. But on March 10 the ROK government announced formal charges of “conspiracy to overthrow the government” against twenty persons, naming Kim Dae Jung, Rev. Moon Ik Hwan (brother of Rev. Moon Dong Hwan), and Catholic priest Fr. Hahm Se Ung as “leaders of the conspiracy.”

These Christians made their public declaration knowing full well that it could mean long years in prison, or it could mean they would face spurious charges of a “communist plot” against Park. Nevertheless they were ready to pay the price. That is the *Samil Chul* spirit. All the suffering Park can inflict upon them will not extinguish it, for that spirit is the heart of Korea itself.

GEORGE OGLE

Emory University (USA)
15 March 1976

NOTES

1. The national referendum on November 21, 1972, approved by 91 % of the vote (under martial law) the new Constitution proposed in the October Revitalization reforms. It provided for election of the National Conference for Unification, which was held on December 15, 1972; on December 23 this Conference named Park, the only candidate, president for a six-year term almost unanimously (two votes out 2,359 were voided). The new Constitution allows the president an unlimited number of six-year terms, as well as far-reaching powers to suspend the people's rights and freedom in a wide range of situations. This completed Park's quest for complete and permanent control of the presidency that began in a virtually bloodless military coup of May 1961, followed by Park's first election as president in 1963, reelection in 1967, and after an earlier constitutional referendum in October 1970 allowing Park to run for a third term, his victory over Kim Dae Jung by only a 9.4% margin of the vote in a hotly contested election in April 1971.
2. 4,200 won; approximately \$12.
3. Refers to the May 1961 coup led by General Park Chung Hee that reversed the democratic processes set in motion by the student revolt of April 19, 1960.
4. This pro-South but anti-Park splinter group called itself the Jishu Mindan, or Independent Korean Residents Union in Japan; on August 15, 1973, part of this group organized the National Council for Restoration of Democracy in South Korea and Promotion of Unification (Kanminto). Kim Dae Jung was to have been a central figure in the Kanminto.
5. Kim Dae Jung was abducted from a hotel room in Tokyo on August 8, 1973 by five unidentified Koreans; his whereabouts remained unknown until August 13.
6. The root word here is "people," not "state" which can also be translated "national." In this English version we have, as a rule, reserved the word "national" for the original word meaning "people."
7. The DUP is a splinter party of the New Democratic Party (NDP). Yang Il Dong belonged to the NDP until 1973.
8. Kim Dae Jung was abducted while calling upon Yang Il Dong, an in-law of Kim's, in Yang's Tokyo hotel.
9. Victim Chong In Suk was involved in a scandal with a high government official, and thus was compared to Britain's Christine Keeler; see also p. 147.
10. Korea's leading national daily newspaper, the *Dong-A Ilbo*, at the time ran a series of articles on this history.

11. The "Revitalization" Constitution permits the president to appoint one-third of the members of the National Assembly.
12. Japanese police have verified that the fingerprints of Kim Dong Woon, First Secretary of the Korean Embassy in Tokyo at the time of Kim Dae Jung's abduction, were found in the hotel room from which Kim Dae Jung was abducted.
13. A nationwide unarmed demonstration of Korean nationalist sentiment, secretly organized by religious and cultural leaders, the March 1st Movement was dramatically publicized by the reading of a moving "Proclamation of Independence" from Japanese domination, and about one million demonstrators filled the streets. Even Japanese records of the suppression that followed list 19,000 persons jailed and 2,000 casualties; Korean sources report some 7,000 killed in the following twelve months. See John K. Fairbank, Edwin O. Reischauer, and Albert M. Craig, *East Asia: The Modern Transformation* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1965), pp. 762-763.
14. This debate took place in the early 1870's. It came to a head in the summer of 1873 when conservative ex-samurai leaders decided, in the absence of more liberal leaders away on a mission to the West, to mount a military campaign against Korea; overruled in October when the liberals returned, leading advocates of the Korea expedition resigned from the government and in 1877 led other restless ex-samurai in an unsuccessful rebellion against the Meiji government. By 1910, however, the Meiji government had gone on to annex Korea.
15. Since October 17, 1972, the monthly *Sekai* has been running the series of "Letters from South Korea" by T. K., most of which are translated here, as well as a documentary series on the Kim Dae Jung case; these materials constitute a major nongovernmental outlet for information and interpretation on South Korea today.
16. Approximately 500 students actively participated in the demonstration, while another thousand looked on; it was the first student demonstration of its size in two years.
17. The fifteen signers of the November 5, 1973 "Emergency Statement" were: Kim Chi Ha, poet; Bop Jong, Buddhist monk; Lee Ho Chul, novelist; Tji Hak Son, Roman Catholic bishop; Cho Hyang Rock, Protestant minister; Ham Suk Hon, Quaker intellectual and member of the People's Association for Protection of Democracy (PAPD); and other PAPD members Kang Ki Chul, Kae Hoon Jae, Kim Soong Kyung, Kim Chai Chun, Park Sam Sae, Lee Chal Oh, Chung Soo Il, Chun Kwan Wu, and Hong Nam Soon.
18. Ham Suk Hon is a Quaker and well-known spiritual leader; Kim Chai Chun is a Presbyterian leader and former president of the Hankuk Theological Seminary; Chun Kwan Wu, an outstanding historian, formerly was editor-in-chief of *Dong-A Ilbo*, Korea's largest newspaper.
19. In this secret memorandum of July 1905 the U.S. indicated approval of Japan's establishment of a protectorate over Korea, prior to the September 1905 treaty in settlement of the Russo-Japanese War (1904-1905), which

gave Japan protectorate rights over Korea.

20. On October 26 Kim Dae Jung was released from a formal state of arrest and allowed to hold a press conference, though he remained under house arrest.
21. Like most other Japanese monthly magazines, *Sekai* comes out in the month preceding the date of publication; because of keen interest in these “letters,” copies of *Sekai* are smuggled into South Korea as soon as possible.
22. The words are from James Russell Lowell’s poem “The Present Crisis,” written on the eve of the American Civil War.
23. On December 24, 1973, a signature campaign for constitutional revision was launched in Seoul by thirty intellectuals, including the elderly and distinguished Ham Suk Hon; in the two weeks preceding the January 8, 1974 decrees, over half a million signatures were collected. The speed and size of this popular response were factors leading to the Emergency Decrees. See Appendix 2 for the texts of Emergency Decrees Nos. 1 and 2.
24. “March crisis” indicates official apprehension about possible protest action when university students return to campuses in mid-March.
25. Reference is to the spot in a Korean room, normally reserved for the household head, where the heat first enters the pipes (from an outside stove) that run under the floor to heat the rooms in a Korean house. This heating system is called *ondol*.
26. Chang Joon Ha was indicted on January 15, along with Paik Ki Wan, by the Special Military Tribunal under Emergency Decree No. 1 prohibiting any campaign or other activity in favor of constitutional revision.
27. In November 1970 Jeon Tae Il (22) killed himself by immolation to protest the working conditions of fellow workers in the Pyong Wha (“peace”) market district, which produces about 70% of Korea’s ready-made clothes.
28. It should be emphasized that campaigning for constitutional revision was perfectly legal prior to the January 8 Emergency Decrees, and that these decrees were imposed retroactively.
29. Andrei D. Sakharov, a physicist who helped develop Soviet nuclear bombs, now heads a human rights movement which takes a close interest in persons jailed for reasons of conscience.
30. The six included two ministers with the Urban Industrial Mission in Seoul (a special target of government repression), Kim Kyong Nak and In Myong Jik, and assistant pastors Lee Hae, Kim Jin Hong, Lee Kyu Sang, and Park Yun Soo.
31. Emergency Decree No. 2 (January 8, 1974) hastily set up the machinery for military trial and imprisonment of civilians “who violated any provision of the Emergency Measures”; see Appendix 2.
32. *Arirang* is the symbolic name of a pathway where young women bade farewell to their husbands, fiancés or fathers who were forced to emigrate to Japan as forced labor during the years of Japanese rule when Koreans were made to abandon their own language and culture. It became the title of Korea’s most beloved folk song, sung with special fervor and longing.

33. The Korean language, like Chinese and Japanese, is traditionally written and printed from top to bottom, right to left; though headlines, titles, etc., may appear horizontally.
34. Emergency Decree No. 4 stipulates that all active members of the National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students are subject to arrest without warrant and to sentences ranging from five years to death. All student gatherings, demonstrations and discussions are prohibited; see Appendix.
35. As earlier (n. 9), the reference is to call-girl Christine Keeler, involved in an earlier scandal with then British Defense Minister John Profumo.
36. Students had been ordered to attend school on Sunday, February 28 because the opposition was to hold a presidential campaign rally on the same day.
37. In 1929 a collision between Korean and Japanese students occurred, and discriminatory treatment of the incident by concerned schools and police precipitated a nationwide protest by Korean students.
38. High school student Kim Ju Yol was murdered and cast into the sea by the police on March 15, 1960, provoking massive public reaction.
39. The manual mimeograph is a flat device over which the ink roller is passed by hand; the stencil screen must be raised and lowered with each sheet printed, and after about three hundred sheets the stencil becomes blurred.
40. Park Jong Suk, a Korean born and raised in Japan, was fired by Hitachi when his Korean identity was discovered (Park used a Japanese name, as do many Korean residents in Japan, for obvious reasons). Protests by sympathetic Japanese and Christians in Korea, Japan, the U.S.A. and elsewhere, plus a favorable court ruling, forced Hitachi on August 27, 1974, to announce cessation of all discriminatory practices against Koreans. Park Jong Suk was officially re-hired on September 2, 1974.
41. This comment was either simply misinformed or intentionally distorted. The full-page ad in the *New York Times* (May 5, 1974) was paid for by the Japanese Committee to Support “The 1973 Manifesto of Christians in the Republic of Korea,” whose Executive Members at the time were “Dr. Jiro Inuma, Assistant Professor, Research Institute for Humanistic Studies, Kyoto University; Rev. Shigetaka Okuda, Pastor, Kitashirakawa Church, Kyoto; Dr. Masao Takenaka, Professor, School of Theology, Doshisha University, Kyoto; Rt. Rev. Fumio Hamao, Auxiliary Bishop, Catholic Archdiocese of Tokyo; and Rev. Tadashi Wada, Pastor, Matsumoto Japan Christian Church.” The appeal made in the ad was backed by 269 Japanese churches representing 6,557 supporters.
42. Hayakawa Yoshiharu and Tachikawa Masaki were released from prison on February 15, 1975, along with many others sentenced in the NFDYS case, and returned soon to Japan. Though supportive of efforts seeking the release of other prisoners and the cause of democracy in Korea, they are not known to have produced the kind of blistering anti-Park reports feared by the ROK government.
43. Elizabeth Pond, the *Christian Science Monitor*’s correspondent based in Tokyo, wrote a report on the Park regime, dated May 22, for which the

ROK government revoked her visa. The U.S. State Department on June 6 announced its displeasure with this “intrusion on the rights of a free press.”

44. In 1967 seventeen Koreans, including university professors, students, and musicians studying in West Germany, were abducted and taken back to South Korea by the KCIA to be tried as “spies.” As soon as this action surfaced, the West German government expelled all KCIA agents from its borders and cut off its economic aid to Korea. Because of the firm stand taken by the West German government, the abducted Koreans were returned to West Germany.
45. First Secretary of the Korean Embassy in Japan whose fingerprints were found by Japanese police in the hotel room from which Kim Dae Jung was kidnapped. (See n. 12)
46. Kim Dae Jung’s trial on “election law violations” dragged on for half a year until, on December 13, he was convicted by Seoul District Court and sentenced to one year of imprisonment and a 50,000 won fine (this fine was suspended). Kim Dae Jung subsequently filed a question with the Supreme Court on the constitutionality of the court proceedings leading to his conviction; settlement of this question is still pending.
47. The fourteen sentenced to death were: Kim Chi Ha (33), poet; Lee Chul (26), SNU sociology student; Yoo In Tai (26), SNU graduate student; Yo Chung Nam (29), unemployed; Kim Byung Kon (21), SNU economics student; Na Byong Shik (25), SNU student of Korean history; Lee Hyun Bae (30), SNU graduate student; To Rye Jong (50), alleged former chairman of the PRP; Su Do Won (51), alleged former PRP chairman; Ha Jae Wan (42), alleged former PRP general secretary; Song Sang Jin (46), alleged former PRP member; Lee Su Byung (36), language instructor; Woo Hong Sun (44) alleged former PRP member; Kim Yong Won (39), high school teacher.
48. A military revolt that occurred in October 1948 in the midst of a series of partisan struggles; Park Chung Hee is said to have joined this revolt in its early stage.
49. Kang Shin Ok, a noted Seoul attorney who defended Kim Chi Ha and others in the NFDYS trial, was arrested August 7 (because of his vigorous attack on the court in his summation) and sentenced September 4 to fifteen years’ imprisonment.
50. Former Prime Minister Tanaka Kakuei made a statement to this effect in the Japanese Diet.
51. The Chinese characters used to write in Korean the term “revitalization” (Yushin) are the same as those used for writing the Japanese term “reformation” (Ishin).
52. Estimated at “several thousands.” Cf. Richard H. Mitchell, *The Korean Minority in Japan* (Berkeley & Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1967), pp. 38–41.
53. “Letters” from November 1972 to June 1974 were published by Iwanami Shoten in August 1974; over 300,000 copies were sold. This English

edition includes the original volume and a sequel containing “letters” from July 1974 to June 1975.

54. The Rev. George Ogle received his Ph.D. in industrial relations from the University of Wisconsin in 1973; his doctoral dissertation was on “The Role of Unions in Economic Development: the Case of the Republic of South Korea.” In addition to writings in English, Ogle has published a number written originally in Korean.
55. According to the traditional almanac based on the ancient Chinese calendar adopted and adapted throughout East Asia from antiquity, and still a popular reference for ceremonial and personal use in addition to official use of the Western (Gregorian) calendar.
56. Yun Pil Yong was formerly head of the Capital Defense Garrison; in March 1973 he was suddenly forced to resign, arrested, and on April 28, 1973, sentenced to fifteen years’ imprisonment on bribery and other charges.
57. That is, before the highest civilian court, not, as heretofore, before special military courts authorized only by Emergency Decrees. (See n. 31)
58. Catholic believers in early 17th-century Japan were required to step on a metal (or paper) plaque, *fumie*, of Mary and the Christ child to indicate they were not Christians (or had recanted) in an effort to stamp out the faith in feudal Japan.
59. On April 3, 1975, four ministers were arrested on charges of “misusing mission funds” from the Bread for the World agency in Stuttgart, West Germany—a charge refuted July 5 in court testimony by Rev. Wolfgang Schmidt, Asian representative for the Stuttgart agency. The four were Rev. Kim Kwan Suk, general secretary of the Korean National Council of Churches (KNCC), Rev. Park Hyung Kyu, pastor of Seoul’s First Presbyterian Church, Rev. Kwon Ho Kyung, assistant pastor of the First Presbyterian Church, and Rev. Cho Sung Hyok, general secretary of the Urban Industrial Mission (UIM) in Korea. Later in the same week three more Protestant leaders were arrested, bringing the total to seven by mid-April in this crackdown on the Christian churches.

APPENDIX 1

A Declaration of Conscience

To all who cherish justice and truth.

The Park regime is tying me up in a conspiratorial net of incredible lies. They say I am a communist who infiltrated the Roman Catholic Church and pretended to be an advocate of democracy and human rights. I have been arrested and imprisoned on these charges.

The authorities will soon begin a courtroom charade to “legally” brand me forever as a treacherous Marxist-Leninist agent. I will be impressed into the ranks of that legion of government-designated “communists.”

I am not the only target of this conspiracy. It is directed at the whole movement to restore democracy and at the Christian Church which has been fighting for social justice. The authorities are particularly determined to label as pro communist the Association of Catholic Priests for the Realization of Justice, the National Council for the Restoration of Democracy, and all youth and student movements. This is the forerunner of a broad crackdown on dissent.

The government has been making these vile charges against me for more than a decade; they are nothing new. I should prefer not to waste words with a personal defense here. The Korean Central Intelligence Agency (KCIA) agents say, “If you have a statement to make about these charges, do it in court.” For once I agreed with them. I intended to do just that: to try to bring out some of the truth about this travesty during the trial by challenging the prosecutor.

However, the current political situation compels me to speak out now. It is not just my convictions and my credibility that are endangered. The net has been thrown widely to encompass all democratic forces, my church and the student movement. I owe it to history and the Korean people to state my beliefs and the facts about my arrest as I know them.

1. Am I a Communist?

I have never in the past thought of myself as a communist, and I still do not. I am not a communist. The KCIA charges against me

are patently absurd. My lawyer has told me they have taken the "confession" I was forced to write and have made it public to prove that I am a communist. [The KCIA is distributing a pamphlet entitled "The Case Against Kim Chi Ha, The True Identity of the Poet" which includes Kim's confession, excerpts from his prison notes, list of books seized at his home, etc.] The "confession" in the pamphlet is called Statement No. 2 but actually it was the third one. The KCIA discarded the second statement but still numbered the third version as No. 2. These details aside, it is true that the document was written by my hand.

But not by my mind and soul. It was not a voluntary statement. I was a powerless individual in an underground interrogation room of the KCIA's Fifth Bureau. They were the almighty agency of state terror, beyond any law or decency. How much truth do you think there is in those sheets of paper, my "confession"? From the time of my arrest I was pressured to say that I was a "communist who had infiltrated the Catholic Church." The government had decided to destroy me politically and religiously. They were going to crush me until I was flattened out like a piece of dried cuttlefish. I resisted my interrogators and refused to "confess." The grilling continued for five or six days, I think. Finally they wore me down. I had not been in good health before my arrest; I had fainted several times due to anemia, and I was suffering from chronic insomnia. The constant questioning left me physically exhausted and delirious. I knew the Park regime would use any means necessary to convict me as a communist. It did no good to keep telling the interrogators that I was innocent. They had strict orders from their master to "Get Kim Chi Ha" regardless of the facts. The KCIA agents were cogs in the machine; they could not refuse that order. They were ashamed of what they were doing but they hammered away at me day and night. I saw no point in continuing the nerve-racking war of attrition against such pitiful men!

Finally, on the sixth day, I wrote out a statement which they dictated. I scribbled it down like graffiti on a toilet wall and threw it at them. That is how my "confession" was written.

As one might expect, the statement is full of lies and inconsistencies. There is the banal wording so dear to the KCIA hacks: "I became a communist out of a sense of inferiority and frustration due to poverty and illness."¹ This is the vilest part of the document. They used the same phrasing over and over again when I was indicted in 1970 for writing "The Five Bandits," for "Groundless Rumors" in 1972, and

in the National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students incident in 1974. There is a materialistic determinism in the phraseology, as if all the poor and afflicted are "potential communist criminals." Would any self-respecting person write such craven drivel of his own free will?

According to the "confession," all my activities, including writing "Five Bandits" and "Groundless Rumors," were due to my communist ideas. I wonder if foreign readers of these poems were deceived by my communist propaganda? There must be many red faces among those foreign literary critics who praised my work and did not even realize that it was "communist propaganda." If "Five Bandits" is communist literature, why have the charges against me been pending for more than four years! And why was I not even indicted for "Groundless Rumors"?

The "confession" says that I am a communist *and* a Catholic. That is an antinomy like being a "democratic fascist." Every schoolchild knows that communism regards religion, especially Christianity, as the "opiate of the masses."

I understand that the KCIA pamphlet cites a few books I had in my possession as "proof" that I am a communist. They are so stupid! Their petty, frightened police-state minds! No matter how severely intellectual freedom is restricted in South Korea, does reading a few Marxist classics make a person a communist? The most avid readers of leftist books are the censors who check every piece of literature that comes into this country. If they can read those materials, why is it a crime for me? I have read hundreds of books; the authorities seized fewer than ten. Every one of those without exception is a classic that any foreign intellectual has read.

The KCIA pamphlet reproduces some of the notes I jotted down in prison from April 1974 until February 1975. Again those memoranda and notes are supposed to be "proof" that I am a communist. Those notes contain all kinds of thoughts and emotions. Ideas that flitted into my mind like birds flitting past my cell window. There are ruminations on this or that, outlines of projects I hope to write about in the future. Bits and pieces, unconnected fragments. They do not show that I am a man ideologically committed to communism. If the government will make public *all* my notes, the charges against me will fall of their own weight. Anyone who examines the material will see my values; my hatred of oppression and exploitation, my groping in the political wilderness for a way out of these iniquities, how I have driven

myself in the quest for answers! This search has nothing to do with communism.

How should I define my ideological position? Before I attempt that, two points require clarification.

First, I regard myself as a free thinker not bound by any ideological system. I hope my ideas are neither shaped by personal ambition nor yield to intimidation and that they are also unfettered by any dogma or creed. Thus I have never defined myself as an adherent of any "ism." I belong in the creative tension formed by the chaos of freedom. A natural pool swirls with cross currents of ideas, values, systems, experiences. By diving into that pool again and again I hope to come up with a few grains of truth. I stand beside that pool poised for the next dive.

Secondly, I am ideologically unfinished. That's a crude way of saying that I have never accepted one ideology as my operative value system. So far I have never found one system of thought that was logically convincing. I am still looking. In a sense, this is a shameful admission, but there are extenuating circumstances, I think. An individual's beliefs and conscience must be free, and the process that shapes them must also be open, competitive, eclectic. Man has a natural right to find his own values. Even the Yushin Constitution, promulgated by Park Chung Hee in December 1972, guarantees this right to South Korean society. Nevertheless, intellectual life and value formulation are totally controlled in our country. A single ideology with its priorities, preferences, tabus and sanctions is dominant.

Consider the spiritual ethos of South Korea. The flow of information is controlled. One can only read a limited number of authorized books. Antiintellectualism and pervasive secrecy are the rule. I have tried, often with doubts and remorse, to find the truth in this darkness. I am not the only one. Every South Korean who has sought to understand what is going on in this country and in the world has trod the same uncertain, dangerous path. My ideological education is incomplete.

Under these conditions surely there is virtually no possibility of autogenous communism sprouting here. Our conditioned reflex to "communists" was to imagine red-faced devils with horns growing out of their heads and long claws dripping with blood. Every South Korean below the age of thirty has been educated and indoctrinated this way. Furthermore, we have never been taught anything about communism except emotional diatribes against it. Even if a few curious people secretly read some leftist books, how could they turn into full-

fledged communists with a firm grasp of dialectics, party history and doctrine? No "autogenous communist" could emerge from the younger generation. That includes me. Far from being a committed communist, as the KCIA charges, I have no reliable information about the nature of communism or what life is like in a socialist country. The charge that I am a communist is utterly groundless.

2. Democracy, Revolution, Violence

I want to identify with the oppressed, the exploited, the troubled, and the despised. I want my love to be dedicated, passionate, and manifested in practical ways. This is the totality of my self-imposed task for humanity, the alpha and the omega of my intellectual search. I hope that my odyssey will be understood as a love for mankind.

My desire to love the brotherhood of man makes me hate the oppression and exploitation that dehumanizes him. He who exploits others corrupts himself. Thus I fight against oppression and exploitation; the struggle is my existence.

I became a Catholic because Catholicism conveys a universal message. Not only the spiritual and material burdens could be lifted from man but also oppression itself could be ended by the salvation of *both* the oppressor and the oppressed. Catholicism is capable of assimilating and synthesizing these contradictory and conflicting ideologies, theories, and value standards into a universal truth.

My beliefs spring from a confident love for the common people. I have opposed the Park regime and ridiculed the "Five Bandits" because they are the criminal gangleaders looting this country. I have grown up as one of the oppressed masses. That perspective enabled me to see that a pernicious elitist bias permeates our society. The oppressors say the masses are base, ugly, morally depraved, innately lazy, untrustworthy, ignorant and a spiritless, inferior race. But the common people I have known are not like that. They are honest and industrious. They may look stupid to a Seoul bureaucrat but they were endowed with a rich, native intelligence. Although they seem listless, they possess enormous inner strength and determination. They may be rough, not very sophisticated, but they have genuine affection for their friends and neighbors. The common people I knew are proud, full of an unassuming vitality.

I have total confidence in the people. Given the opportunity they will find correct solutions to their problems. And their time is coming. The people cannot be denied their rights and justice much longer.

My confidence in the people has led me to trust their ability to determine their own fate.

Those who fear the people, who find the masses despicable, are ipso facto not democrats. When the going gets rough, they will stand with the oppressors.

What is democracy? It is an ideology opposed to silence, a system that respects a free Logos and freedom of speech. It encourages the cacophony of dissent. A political system where everything is not revealed to the public is not a democracy. I believe that the truth, only the truth, will liberate man. A public consciousness dulled by soporific incantations and smothered in darkness can be liberated by the truth. Only when the people struggle out of the darkness, driven along by the very chaos of their opposition to authority, will they reach the sun-drenched fields. Then they can head toward Canaan, the land of justice and freedom promised by the Creator. This is my dream, my faith.

I cannot describe Canaan in detail. No one man can do that. I think it will be created by the collective effort of all the people. My task is to fight on until the people hold the power in their own hands to shape their destiny. I want a victory for real democracy, complete freedom of speech. Nothing more, nothing less. In this sense, I am a radical democrat and libertarian. I am also a Catholic, one of the oppressed citizens of the Republic of Korea, and a young man who loathes privilege, corruption, and dictatorial power. This defines my political beliefs. I have nothing more to add.

Democracy does not require a "benevolent ruler who loves the people." A ruler who fears the people's wrath and weapons is preferable. Democracy entails an uncompromising rejection of oppression. There is no democracy as long as the people cannot depose an undesirable ruler. Thus democracy does not deny the people the right of revolution; on the contrary, that fundamental right is the last guarantee of popular sovereignty. This obvious truth must never be forgotten.

The right of revolution, the constant and eternal possibility of overthrowing illegitimate authority, is the ultimate sanction against misrule that enables the people to defend themselves from oppression and exploitation. Rulers, of course, make revolution illegal; even discussion of it is banned as subversive. Thus they can continue their political and economic domination. But that is why I must support resistance and revolution.

I feel enormous pride in our Korean traditions. The people have often protested against injustice and misgovernment. Unfortunately,

the rulers, irredeemably callous and arrogant, often crushed the protests with force. Under these circumstances have the people any choice but revolution?

Catholic political thought since Thomas Aquinas has explicitly recognized the people's right and duty, based on natural law, to overthrow a tyrant who threatens their existence and the common good. Resistance abruptly changes the course of human affairs. The people themselves recover their humanity. The masses undergo a sudden and profound awakening; history makes up for lost time by encouraging the people to miraculous feats.

Sooner or later resistance and revolution lead to the phenomenon of violence. When the violence of authority sustains oppression, the people's will is crushed, their best leaders are killed, and the rest are cowed into submission. The "silence of law and order" settles grimly across the land. Then an antithetical situation exists where violence must shatter this macabre order. To a degree, I approve of this kind of violence. No, that is not strong enough. I must approve of it. I reject the violence of oppression and accept the violence of resistance. I reject dehumanizing violence and accept the violence that restores human dignity. It could justly be called a "violence of love."

Jesus used his whip on the merchants defiling the temple. That was the "violence of love." It was force suffused with love. Jesus wanted the afflicted *and* their oppressive rulers to be reborn again as true children of God.

Violence and destructiveness obviously bring suffering and hardship. But we must sometimes cause and endure suffering. Never is this more true than when the people are dozing in silent submission, when they cannot be awakened from their torpor. To preach "nonviolence" at such a time leaves them defenseless before their enemies. When the people must be awakened and sent resolutely off to battle, violence is unavoidable. Ghandi and Franz Fanon agonized over this dilemma. Father Camilo Torres took a rifle and joined the people. He died with them, his weapon never fired. The fallen priest with his rifle epitomized godliness. I do not know if his beliefs and methods were correct or not, but the purity of his love always moves me to tears. He staggered along his road to Golgotha with uncertain tread. He was prepared to commit sin out of love for others. He was not afraid to burn in the depths of eternal hell.

True nonviolence requires total noncompliance and noncooperation. It concedes nothing to the oppressors. The superficial kind of

nonviolence, which makes limited gestures of opposition, is just another form of craven cooperation with authorities. Cowardly nonviolence is morally equivalent to cruel violence because with both the people get crushed. On the other hand, the "violence of love" is essentially the same as a "courageous nonviolence" in that it arms the people against their foes. I approve of the "violence of love" but I am also a proponent of true nonviolence.

The revolution I support would be a synthesis of true nonviolence and an agonized violence of love. (I am now working on a long ballad, "Chang Il Tam," set against this background.)

To reach that golden mean, a nonviolence that does not drift to cowardly compromise and a violence that does not break the bonds of love and lapse into carnage, mankind must undergo an unceasing spiritual renewal and the masses must experience a universal self-awakening.

While I grant that the violence of Blanquism can light the psychological fuse to revolution, I do not anticipate or support a "lucky revolution" achieved by a small number of armed groups committing terrorist acts of violence. That is why I have eschewed the formation of or membership in secret organizations and have participated in activities consistent with the democratic process; writing and petitions, rallies and prayer meetings.

My vision of a revolution is one to create a unified Korea based on freedom, democracy, self-reliance, and peace. More fundamentally, however, it must enable the Korean people to decide their own fate. I can confidently support such a revolution.

That revolution will not follow foreign models or patterns, but will flow from our unique revolutionary tradition. The Tonghak rebellion,² the March First Independence Movement, and the 1960 April Student Revolution adumbrate the next revolution.

3. Revolutionary Religion: The World of "Chang Il Tam"

The more I search for answers, the more contradictory ideas I find and the more confused I am. J. B. Metz confessed to the same experience. Yet the antagonistic diversity of these systems of thought makes me strive even more for faith in the one absolute being. I believe such faith is attainable.

Must revolution reject religion and religion be the foe of revolution? I think the answer is "No." Perhaps by this reply alone I could not be a Marxist-Leninist. But the Marxist dictum that religion is the

opiate of the masses is only a partial truth applicable to one aspect of religion.

When a people have been brutally misruled and exploited for a long time, they lose their passion for justice and their affection for their fellowmen. Committed only to self-survival, they lapse into an individualistic materialism. Their near-crazed resentment and rage at social and economic conditions, diverted into frustration and self-hatred, is repeatedly dissipated in fragmented, anomic actions. Our prisons are full of lower-class criminals, thrown there by a ruling elite that spits on the poor and flourishes on social injustice. The prisoners' roster of crimes is diverse: armed robbery, theft, murder, desertion from military service, kidnapping, etc. Yet their wretched tragedy has a common origin in frustration and alienation.

The chief priests and Pharisees defuse the people's bitter resentment and moral indignation with sentimental charity. The people are emasculated by mercy. The god of philanthropy serves the oppressor by turning the people into a mob of beggars. That is why I cannot admire Albert Schweitzer.

In similar situations of bondage and deprivation, prophetic religions of love arise in the wilderness and shake the emotions of the oppressed and mistreated people. The slumbering masses awaken like a thunder-clap; their human and divine qualities suddenly shine forth. The mystery of resurrection—revolution. That resurrection fashions people in God's image, opens their eyes to their own nobility and turns their frustration and self-hatred into eschatological hope. This kind of resurrection changes a selfish, individualistic, escapist anomie into a fraternal, united, realistic commitment to the common good. It becomes a struggle for a humane life and dignity for all the people. This resurrection prevents the people's bitter resentment and moral indignation from evaporating in self-hatred and converts it into a fierce demand for God's universal justice. If necessary, the people's enormous energy may also be directed to a decisive, organized explosion. This is a revolutionary religion. This miraculous conversion which conceived the mystery of revival may also bring a decisive spiritual revival. This conversion is the philosophy of *tan*, the determination to choose the circumstances of one's death, that my hero Chang Il Tam sings about.

Since my college years when I suffered from tuberculosis, I have passionately wanted to understand both my personal situation and my country's. How could I overcome my terror of death and how could South Korea find its way out of the ubiquitous spiritual dehumaniza-

tion and material poverty. I heard something then about the Tonghak teaching that "Man is Heaven." At first it was a *pianissimo* idea that made only a slight impression. Later I learned more about the Tonghak rebellion, and an image took shape in my mind. I could see that awesome band of starving peasants, their proud banners proclaiming "An end to violence, save the people," as they marched off to fight. Suddenly that Tonghak teaching became *fortissimo*, as thunderous as the battle cries of those marching peasants.

I have been grappling with that image for ten years. At some point I gave it a name, "the unity of God and revolution." I also changed the phrase "man is heaven" into "rice is heaven" and used it in my poetry.

That vague idea of "the unity of God and revolution" stayed with me as I continued my long, arduous search for personal and political answers, and as I became very interested in contemporary Christian thought and activism. European social reformism, including Ernst Troeltsch, Frederic Ozanam, Karl Marx and others, had been absorbed into the grand edifice of Christian thought. Their ideas were now being reinvestigated, developed in new directions. I was intrigued by efforts to combine Marxist social reform and Christian beliefs as evinced in the 1972 Santiago Declaration of Christian Socialism.

The synthesis draws from diverse sources. One example is the adaptation of the teachings of Marx and Jesus. Marx's contribution is his structural epistemology which maintains that social oppression blocks man's salvation. From Jesus's teachings is taken his humanism, which advocates love for all people and the sanctity of man, his emphasis on rebirth as the means to salvation, the idea of the God of hope who brings salvation, equality, and liberation on earth, and the activities of Jesus of Nazareth during his life.

The synthesis tries to unify and integrate these concepts. In my view this is not a mechanical process, a routine grafting of bits of Marxism onto Christianity. The union produces something entirely new. (The new synthesis is not finished. Its *gestalt* cannot be defined; it is still amorphous. Therefore I must decline to use the existing terminology. The Korean people are suffering from the tragic reality of a divided peninsula. This division has become the excuse for brutal repression; everything is done in the name of "national security," the threat from the North. Under this praetorian system South Korean society has become rigid, intolerant, frightened; our intellectual life is as airless and barren as the valleys of the moon. The authorities, hypersensitive

and always suspicious of new and possibly "dangerous thoughts," may attempt to label my ideas as a certain ideology. I reject this false labeling of an unfinished "product." I stand on my human right to be creative. Man's original ideas are not turned out on an assembly line.)

My image of the unity of God and revolution was clarified by Pope John XXIII's encyclical *Mater et magistra*: "The mystery of Jesus and the loaves of bread is a temporal miracle which shows the future heaven." I also benefited from the writings of the liberation theologians: Frederick Herzog, James Cone, Richard Shaull, Paul Lehmann, Jürgen Moltmann, J. B. Metz, Tödt Hugo, Assman, Reinhold Niebuhr, Dietrich Bonhöffer, and others. The statements of the Pope after Vatican II and encyclicals such as *Rerum novarum* and *Quadragesimo anno*, preceding Vatican II, provided insights. The greatest single influence on my thinking, however, has been my participation since 1971 in the Korean Christian movement for human rights. This experience convinced me that the Korean tradition of resistance and revolution, with its unique vitality under the incredibly negative circumstances prevailing here, are precious materials for a new form of human liberation. This rich lode will be of special value to the Third World. Shaped and polished by the tools of liberation theology, our experience may inspire miraculous new forms of *Missio Dei* in the gritty struggle of the South Korean people.

My ballad "Chang Il Tam" attempts to express these ideas through the teachings and intellectual pilgrimage of one holy man who speaks in the form of gospels. However, the Park regime has seized my notes as proof of a "conspiracy to publish subversive materials."

Chang Il Tam is a thief, the son of a prostitute and a *paekchong* (an outcast strata which performs unclean tasks such as slaughtering animals, tanning, etc.) A failure in life, despondent, Chang suddenly attains enlightenment and becomes a preacher of liberation. Chang emulates Im Kok Chong (Korea's legendary Robin Hood) in believing that the poor should "re-liberate" what the rich have stolen from them and divide it equally among the needy. He begins stealing from the rich and giving to the poor, is arrested and thrown into jail, whereupon he teaches the other prisoners about revolution. One day Chang is unfairly disciplined. Angrily throwing caution to the winds, he shouts, "We must be liberated! Down with the hated bourgeoisie!" (My working notes cover only a portion of his proselyting in prison; these are his early radical ideas. The government claims they are identical

with my ideas and therefore constitute irrefutable proof that I am a communist!)

Chang escapes from prison, is hunted by the police, and finally hides in a filthy back alley where some prostitutes are plying their trade. He calls to the prostitutes, "Oh, you are all my Mother!" He kisses their feet, and declares: "The soles of your feet are heaven," "God is in your putrid wombs," and "God's place is with the lowest of the low."

Chang later goes to live on Mt. Kyeryong and preaches about a paradise in the land of the Eastern Sea [Korea]. He teaches a systematic religious discipline in three stages: *Sich'onju*, acceptance of God and service to Him; *Yangch'onju*, cultivation of God in your heart and subordination of everything to God's will; and *Saengch'onju* [author's term; the meaning is unclear]. Chang preaches "community ownership of property," teaches about revolution, stresses the unity of prayer and action, and advocates "resistance against the tide." His major ideas include "the transformation of the lowest into heaven," that the traveler's path from this world to heaven is revolution, the need to purge the wild beasts that lurk within the hearts of men, symbolic of the *paekchong's* occupation, and that this world is corrupt but in the next world they will visit the paradise in the Eastern Sea.

Chang Il Tam preaches to the workers and farmers. He builds an altar in the wilderness, starts a huge bonfire, and casts everything old into the flames. He teaches the people that although violence is unavoidable, *tan* is desirable. Chang leads the multitude toward the evil palace in the capital, Seoul. The throng all carry beggar's cans. At this point Chang proclaims that paradise is "to share food with others" and that "food is heaven." They reach the capital where food is abundant and continue through the city on the eternal journey toward paradise where food is shared by all. (This journey implies an endless transmigratory discipline: to the destination and then a return to a place where there is no food.)

During the march to Seoul, Chang is defeated in a battle. The government offers a reward, and the traitor Judas turns Chang in. Chang remains silent, saying nothing in his own defense. He is convicted of violating the Anti-Communist Law and the National Security Law, and of inciting rebellion. Chang is taken out to be executed and just before he is beheaded, breaks his silence and sings a song, "Food is heaven."

Food is heaven

You can't make it on your own

Food should be shared
Food is heaven.

We all see
The same stars in heaven
How natural that we
All share the same food.

Food is heaven
As we eat
God enters us
Food is heaven

Oh, food
Should be shared by all.

Chang is resurrected three days later. His severed head seeks out the traitor Judas, decapitates him, and places itself on his trunk. The traitor's body is joined with the saint's destiny. This weird union of holiness, goodness, and truth, accomplished through Judas' wicked intelligence, is both Chang's revenge *and* salvation for the sinner. It expresses the manifold paradoxes of Chang's thought.

My tentative denouement for the ballad is, "The song 'Food should be shared' has become a raging storm sweeping into every corner of the country."

That is the general outline of the ballad. I repeat that Chang Il Tam's world is in flux. Religious asceticism and revolutionary action, the works of Jesus, the struggle of Ch'oe Che Un (founder of the Tonghak) and Chong Pong Jun (commander of the Tonghak peasant army), a yearning for the communal life of early Christianity, and a deep affection for the long, valiant resistance of the Korean people are all part of Chang's kaleidoscopic world. So are Paulo Freire's *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, Franz Fanon's ideas on violence, the direct action of Blanquism, the Christian view of man as flawed by original sin, the Catholic doctrine of the omnipresence of God and the Buddhist concept of the transmigration of the soul, the populist redistributive egalitarianism of Im Kok Chong and Hong Kil Tong, and the Tonghak teachings of *Sich'onju* and *Yangch'onju*. Some of these movements and doctrines combine and coalesce; others clash in mighty confrontations.

I have no intention of trying to provide a consistent theoretical

elucidation of “Chang Il Tam” while I am still writing it. That is impossible. When the work is finished, I may be able to do so.

4. Did I Violate the Anti-Communist Law?

The charge that I am a communist rests on three allegations. First, that my notebooks for “Chang Il Tam” and other works contain statements favorable to North Korea. Second, that my statements about the so-called People’s Revolutionary Party (PRP) “praise, encourage, and support” a subversive organization. Thirdly, that my possession of several books was beneficial to North Korea because they “praise, encourage, and support” subversive ideas.

National security laws have been misused in South Korea for many years. The constant, expedient, indiscriminate and conspiratorial application of the dreaded Article Four of the Anti-Communist Law has been the most malevolent restriction on the intellectual and spiritual growth of the republic.³ It has been used to deprive us of freedom of speech and to impose a suffocating culture of silence that has killed democracy and sustained a corrupt dictatorship. I oppose the misuse of Article Four with every ounce of strength in my body. It is repugnant to everything I believe in and stand for. I call on others to oppose the regime’s attempt to gag me with this filthy rag of a law. We must have freedom of thought and expression. Individuality—conscience and creativity—must be protected.

I shall discuss the state’s allegations one by one. I was harassed by the KCIA interrogators to admit that some of my notes for “Chang Il Tam” were based on Mao Tse Tung’s thought. As I stated above, the work draws on the seminal ideas, theories, and accomplishments of world civilization. Mao’s *On Contradiction* is an important contribution to politics. But the KCIA were so proud of themselves! At last they had found a real “communist connection.” They said I was a Maoist who joined the Catholic Church because I followed Mao’s teaching on the transformation and unity of antagonisms. My notes included the words, “God and revolution, bread and freedom, the unity of earth and heaven,” all phrases that correspond to the resolution of contradictions. To my astonishment, the KCIA even attributed my use of the word “resurrection” to Mao! They said the “resolution” of death into resurrection was the resolution of a contradiction! Even perverse sophistry has its limits, one would think. Perhaps under the circumstances I can be excused for not admiring the vivid imagination and creativity of the prosecutor.

The police of the Republic of Korea are not much for subtle distinctions. They regard materialism as identical with metaphysics. At the faintest whiff of dialectics, they stick the communist label on you. In South Korea, Lao Tzu, Confucius, Jesus, the Buddha, anybody and everybody concerned with fundamental truth or essential reality would be a communist.

I said above that it would be premature to categorize "Chang Il Tam." But I can say that it is not socialist realism, a vehicle for Marxist ideas. The work is apocalyptic, prophetic, full of allegory, mystery, and symbolism. I use supernatural occurrences and fanciful events conjured up by the sensitivity and imagination of peasants and workers. I dab in a touch of the abstract with bizarre illusions. I use death, chaos, insecurity, terror, revolution, despair, melancholy, atrocities, executions and decadence to create the overall tone. I attempt to describe a ghastly, blood-soaked, transitional period by the use of furious language and violent incidents. My work bears no resemblance to the pallid tone, naturalistic descriptions, and realistic plots of conventional socialist writing. There are no romances between steelworkers and their blast furnaces in "Chang Il Tam."

This is what I am working on. It is far from finished. Nevertheless, the government says it was written "to aid the Northern puppet regime." What can I say? There has been much publicity recently about the government's "Five Year Plan to Encourage Literature." But what they are doing to me is how they really "encourage" literature.

Let's look at the second allegation. I had notes for a play called "Maltuk" about a day laborer by that name who fights against the bourgeoisie. The police and KCIA insist that this is Marxist writing which calls for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie by workers and peasants. They are so eager to find communists that they react like Pavlov's dog to the word "bourgeoisie" and neurotically reach for the Anti-Communist Law. Just because Marx called a flower a flower, am I supposed to call it something else? The word "bourgeoisie" is an internationally accepted historical term. If the mere use of the word, or the expression of contempt for something "bourgeois" proves a person is a communist, where does that leave France's George Bernanos who said, "I hate the bourgeoisie"? One hardly need cite foreign examples. Don't we hear the word everyday as a half-humorous term for the rich? That is how I used it. To be more exact, my use of the word "bourgeoisie" has the limited meaning of the "corrupt ruling elite" who dominate South Korea. They are synonymous with the "Five Bandits."

"Maltuk" is based on the rebellious servant character in traditional mask dramas. The plot evolves from a popular protest against corruption and privilege. The protagonist is a laborer but he is not trying to start a revolution to impose a dictatorship of the proletariat. I am trying to portray a rebel from the lowest stratum of society, far lower than organized industrial workers, in fact. My idea was to make my hero a "debased ch'onmin," a stratum shunned by society as subhuman. He is a typical dehumanized South Korean, spiritually and physically robbed of his manhood. I want to describe his despair and the divine inspiration that rescues him. I will show the "reciprocal effect of action and prayer" which leads him to resist and regain his human dignity. I placed this interaction in Maltuk, a "rebellious, sweaty, dirty South Korean peasant" and stressed hope. I tried to describe a certain world of "community" which appears in the resultant eschatological vision. This is also an visionary manifestation of an oppression-free society, the eternal theme of true art. The drama is sustained by an imagination rooted in Christian eschatology; it is not derived from any political ideology. The allegation that it "was written to aid the Northern puppets" could not be more preposterous.

I want to explain why I wrote "Five Bandits," "Groundless Rumors," "Chang Il Tam," "Maltuk" and other works. So they could be used by someone? No. Because I wanted to write them. I had no choice. They were deep inside me, stirring, swirling. I had to let them burst out. I wrote because I had to. That was the only reason.

Next, the "People's Revolutionary Party" matter. I wrote about the torture of Ha Chae Wan and I held a press conference to ask for the release of the "PRP" prisoners. The government terms these actions as "support for the propaganda activities of the Northern puppets" that "benefited the People's Revolutionary Party, a subversive organization."

For the sake of argument, let's say that my statement about the torture of the "PRP" prisoners was identical with the North Korean "propaganda" on the case. The question really is, did I "support" their version or did they "support" mine? They did not meet Ha Chae Wan. I met him and I heard his story directly from him. I just told the world what I heard. I did not say on the basis of a North Korean broadcast, Ha Chae Wan was tortured. Does similarity of content mean "support"? If it does, thousands of ordinary citizens, intellectuals, religious leaders, students and politicians who demanded the "release of the democratic leaders" arrested in 1974 must be fellow

travelers, since the North certainly must have advocated the same thing. Don't they all have to be charged under the Anti-Communist Law? Hasn't this nonsense gone too far?

Did I speak out to help the "People's Revolutionary Party, a subversive organization"? How could that possibly have been my reason? I knew certain facts which every person in this country needed to know. I made those horrible facts public in the interests of civil rights and democracy in South Korea. Consider my position. I had no connection with the "PRP" and I did not even know the prisoners. I was aware of course that the Park regime would retaliate against me. Why should I go so far just to help a subversive organization? Didn't I have anything better to do? The government as usual has a ready explanation. They say I called the PRP case a "fabrication" to conceal my own "Communist sympathies"! Unless my memory is wrong, even the Prime Minister is supposed to have said in the National Assembly, "Kim Chi Ha is not a Communist." The KCIA assertion that I was trying to hide my "procommunist sympathies" is absurdly illogical. Claiming the government had trumped-up charges against the "PRP" men would obviously bring me under suspicion.

I know the "PRP" men were tortured. What is the KCIA anyway? We all know they have tortured students and opposition party National Assembly members. Recently the National Assembly floor leader of the ruling Democratic Republican Party revealed that he also had been tortured by the KCIA. That is how they function; brutality and terror are their standard operating procedure. Anyone who thinks the "PRP" prisoners, who were being set up as communists for execution, were not tortured ought to have his head examined. I spoke only about facts I heard with my own ears and saw with my own eyes; facts I am absolutely certain of.

Was the "PRP" a subversive organization? Was there really a "PRP"? My suspicions have not been resolved by the Park regime's pronouncements. If the government wants me to accept its version and to convince the public that I was wrong, they should bring back to life the eight men executed on April 9. Or perhaps they can call the ghosts of Ha Chae Wan and Yi Su Byong to testify on the state's behalf. I want to challenge the legality of these "PRP"-related charges.

Finally, we come to the most absurd item in the indictment, that some of the books in my storage shed were a threat to the state. The magazines *Hanyang* and *Chongmaek* I read in 1964. Mao's *On Practice* and *On Contradiction* I read about 1969. I read these books

and put them away years ago. How did these volumes gathering dust in my shed help North Korea?

5. To All Who Cherish Freedom and Justice

I believe that all who oppose repression and dictatorship and defend freedom, justice and the rights of conscience still remain committed to the struggle against the corrupt Park regime. When I was released from prison on February 15, I reconfirmed my vow to resist this dictatorship as long as I live. I have explained in this statement the spurious charges against me. All those who know me will disregard any kind of slander against me at variance with this statement. Your understanding comforts me.

My prison notebooks contain ample proof that this statement is true. Furthermore, prison was not easy for me. But I gained precious experiences and inspiration through my fellowship with the other prisoners, supposedly the dregs of our society. The notebooks are not just about me; the truth about this period of our history is also there. I hope you can prevent their destruction.

Why have we been fighting against the Park regime? For human liberation. To recover the manhood God gave us, to be free men. Nothing is more important. We must press ahead. We will not be stopped. We shall overcome.

The government constantly asserts that the threat from North Korea is so serious that civil rights are an impermissible luxury. But a corrupt, immoral dictatorship is the greatest spur to communism. What better argument do the communists have than the Park regime? Dictatorial rule will never make South Korea secure. A country is strong and viable only when its people are defending their freedom.

If we have no basic rights or representative government, what is there for us to defend? Our hopeless privation and disease, our endless despair and humiliation? Are we to risk our lives for these? In every neighborhood and village we must shout our opposition to this sterile dilemma.

We are not alone in this struggle. Men and women all over the world concerned with freedom will generously support our struggle. Our age demands truth and the passion to endure the suffering necessary to learn the truth.

We want to be free. To taste, feel and transmit to our children the freedom so long promised in South Korea. We must commit everything we are and hope to be to this noble cause. My prayers are with all of

you in this courageous struggle.

Kim Chi Ha
May, 1975

Postscript

Just before I was arrested in March the authorities searched my country house and the home where my child was staying. They seized four or five of my private notebooks. At first I wasn't sure what they were after, but the interrogator's questions provided a clue. They asked, "Weren't you asked to write a poem about the Kim Dae Jung kidnapping?" and "Where is that manuscript?"

I am not allowed to receive visitors or mail, to write anything, or even read the Bible. I cannot move around very much. This gloomy, cramped cell is a bit less than seven feet by seven.

I sit here in the dark angrily thinking about the uncertain future. But prison has not dimmed my spirits. These miserable conditions and the endless waiting have made me more determined than ever.

I feel a quiet composure, almost serenity. But I am terribly worried about what may happen to the individuals involved in making this statement public. My friends, please help these good people.

Do not grieve for me.

We will surely see each other again soon.

Kim Chi Ha
May, 1975

NOTES

1. Kim's forced "confession" states: After advancing to college, I felt frustration and inferiority complex because I could not enjoy a normal campus life for the reason of sickness and family hardship, compared with other students, and these feelings developed into a sense of resistance against our social system . . . through my readings on Communism, I have come to the conclusion that all irregularities and contradictions in our society derive from the capitalistic system and the means to root out such irregularities is to overthrow the existing system through a proletarian revolution in compliance with the teachings of Marx." ("The Case Against Kim Chi Ha," p. 11.)
2. The Tonghak (Eastern Learning) religion was founded by Ch'oe Che-u in the 1860s. It combined elements of Confucianism, Buddhism, indigenous beliefs, Christianity and nationalism. Local revolts by Tonghak followers in 1892 spread to a major uprising, the Tonghak Rebellion, in 1893-94.

3. Article Four of the Anti-Communist Law states:

"1. Any person who has benefitted the anti-State organization by praising, encouraging or siding with or through other means the activities of an anti-State organization or their components or the communist organizations outside the Republic of Korea shall be punished by imprisonment at hard labor for not more than seven years.

2. The same penalty shall apply to any person who has, for the purpose of committing the acts as provided for in the foregoing paragraph, produced, imported, duplicated, kept in custody, transported, disseminated, sold or acquired documents, drawings and any other similar means of 'expression.'"
("The Case Against Kim Chi Ha," pp. 44-45.)

**[Translation provided by the Committee
to Rescue Kim Chi Ha and His Friends]**

APPENDIX 2

Presidential Emergency Decree No. 1

Article 1. It shall be prohibited for any person to deny, oppose, misrepresent or defame the Constitution of the Republic of Korea.

Article 2. It shall be prohibited for any person to assert, introduce, propose or petition for revision or repeal of the Constitution of the Republic of Korea.

Article 3. It shall be prohibited for any person to fabricate or disseminate false rumors.

Article 4. It shall be prohibited for any person to advocate, instigate or propagate any act or acts which are prohibited in Article 1 through 3 of the present Emergency Measures; or communicate such act or acts to others through broadcasting, reporting, or publishing, or by any other means.

Article 5. Any person who violates any provision of the present Emergency Measures or any person who defames the present Emergency Measures shall be subjected to arrest, detention, search or seizure, without warrant thereof; and shall be punished by imprisonment for not more than 15 years. Suspension of qualification may be concurrently imposed.

Article 6. Any person who violates any provision of the present Emergency Measures shall be tried and sentenced in the Emergency Courts-Martial.

Article 7. The present Emergency Measures shall be effective as of 17:00 hours on January 8, 1974.

Presidential Emergency Decree No. 2

Article 1. In order to try and adjudicate any person who violated any provision of the Emergency Measures proclaimed by the President of the Republic of Korea, the Emergency Courts-Martial shall be established as follows:

<i>Name</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Jurisdiction</i>
The Appellate Emergency Court-Martial	Ministry of National Defense	nationwide
The General Emergency Court-Martial	Ministry of National Defense	nationwide

Article 2. The Emergency Courts-Martial shall have jurisdiction to try and adjudicate all crimes committed by any person who violated any provision of the Emergency Measures proclaimed by the President of the Republic of Korea.

Article 3. The Emergency Courts-Martial shall have Trial Divisions through which they exercise the power to try and adjudicate.

Article 4. The Appellate Emergency Court-Martial shall have one Trial Division. The Trial Division shall be composed of seven Judges as follows:

1. One President of Court-Martial who is a commissioned general officer in the Armed Forces of the Republic of Korea;
2. One Law Officer who is a judge advocate officer in the Armed Forces of the Republic of Korea;
3. Five Members of Court-Martial consisting of two commissioned general officers in the Armed Forces of the Republic of Korea and three civilians appointed from persons with qualifications as judges, public prosecutors or attorneys at law.

Article 5. The General Emergency Court-Martial shall have three Trial Divisions. Each Trial Division shall be composed of five Judges as follows:

1. One President of Court-Martial who is a commissioned general officer in the Armed Forces of the Republic of Korea;
2. One Law Officer who is a judge advocate officer in the Armed Forces of the Republic of Korea;
3. Three Members of Court-Martial consisting of one commissioned general officer in the Armed Forces of the Republic of Korea and two civilians appointed from persons with qualifications as judges, public prosecutors or attorneys at law.

Article 6. The Appellate Emergency Court-Martial and the General Emergency Court-Martial shall have Prosecution Divisions which shall be attached to each court-martial respectively. The jurisdiction of each Prosecution Division shall be that of the respective court-martial to which it is attached.

Article 8. The Prosecuting Officers of the Emergency Courts-Martial shall have the following powers and duties with respect to cases over which the Emergency Courts-Martial have jurisdiction:

1. Powers and duties of a public prosecutor as provided in the Office of the Public Prosecutors Law and the Code of Criminal Procedure, and those of a military prosecutor as provided in the Courts-Martial Law;
2. Direction and supervision over investigation by judicial police officers and special judicial police officers;
3. Request for co-operation to public prosecutors and military prosecutors.

Article 9. Judges and Prosecuting Officers of the Emergency Courts-Martial shall be appointed by the President, from commissioned general officers and judge advocate officers of the Armed Forces upon hearing the opinion of the Minister of National Defense, and from civilians with qualification as judges, public prosecutors or attorneys at law upon hearing the opinion of the Minister of Justice. Prosecuting Officers shall be appointed from judge advocate officers and public prosecutors.

Article 10. The Director of the Central Intelligence Agency shall have powers to co-ordinate and supervise the activities concerning information, investigations and security protection with respect to cases over which the Emergency Courts-Martial have jurisdiction.

Article 12. With respect to cases over which the Emergency Courts-Martial have jurisdiction, the Prosecuting Officer shall issue the warrant of arrest, detention, search or seizure in the case where the warrant issued by a commanding officer of a military unit wherein a court-martial is established is required.

Article 13. When necessary for trial and investigation, an accused or a suspect may be ordered by the Presiding Judge or the Prosecuting Officer to be confined in such facilities as a hospital or a house with appropriate restriction or supervision. Any person who violates the order of confinement shall be punished by imprisonment for not more than five years.

Presidential Emergency Decree No. 4

Article 1. It shall be prohibited for any person to organize or join the National Democratic Youth and Student Federation or any organization affiliated with it; to praise, encourage or sympathize with the activities of the said organization or its members; to assemble with its members or contact them by formal means of communication or by any other means; to provide a place, articles, money or any other accommodation for its members to help them hide, establish contact, or engage in other activities; or to participate directly or indirectly in the activities of the said organization or its members.

Article 2. It shall be prohibited for any person to publish, produce, possess, disseminate, exhibit or sell documents, books, phonographic records or any other means of expression concerning the activities of the said organization or its members.

Article 3. It shall be prohibited for any person to advocate, instigate or propagate any act or acts prohibited in Articles 1 and 2.

Article 4. Any person who has committed an act or acts prohibited in Articles 1 and 2 prior to the proclamation of this measure shall report in person and without concealment all the details of the said act or acts to the investigating and intelligence authorities not later than 8th April, 1974. Any such act or acts which have been reported in person shall be exempted from punishment.

Article 5. It shall be prohibited for any student to absent himself from school or refuse to attend classes or to take examinations without legitimate cause; to hold an assembly, demonstration, rally, or any individual or collective sit-in, outside or inside the campus, except normal classes or research activities conducted under the guidance and supervision of the school authorities. However, customary non-political activities shall be excepted.

Article 6. It is prohibited for any person to advocate, instigate or propagate any act or acts prohibited in this measure or to communicate such act or acts to others through broadcasting, reporting, or publishing, or by any other means.

Article 7. The Education Minister is vested with authority to expel or suspend any student who has violated the presidential measure. He may dissolve student organizations or associations or any other student

bodies or abolish the school or schools to which the students who have violated this presidential measure belong. The Education Minister shall make provisions concerning the abolition of such schools.

Article 8. Any person who violates Articles 1 to 6, any person who violates measures taken by the Education Minister under Article 7, or any person who defames this measure shall be punishable by death, life imprisonment or imprisonment for not less than five years. In cases of penal servitude, suspension of civil rights may be imposed concurrently. Any person who violates Articles, 1, 3, 5 or 6 shall be punished even if he committed an unconsummated offense or merely planned a conspiracy.

Article 9. Any person who violates this measure shall be subjected to arrest, detention, search or seizure without warrant and tried and punished by the Emergency Court-Martial.

Article 10. The prosecuting officers of the Emergency Court-Martial may order reversion to the State Treasury of any documents or articles of a person who violated the presidential measure even when. . .

Article 11. When the Mayor of the Special City of Seoul, the Mayor of Pusan, or any provincial governor requests the dispatch of troops to maintain peace and order, the regional military commander shall comply with the request and provide such support.

Article 12. This measure shall be effective from 22:00 hours (local time) on 3rd April, 1974.

Presidential Emergency Decree No. 9

Article 1. It shall be prohibited for any person to engage in any of the following acts:

1. Fabricating, disseminating falsehood or making false presentation of fact.
2. Denying, opposing, distorting or defaming the Constitution, or asserting, petitioning, instigating or propagating revision or repeal thereof, by means of assembly, demonstration, or by using mass-communication media such as newspapers, broadcasts or news correspondence, or by making documents, pictures, records or other publications.
3. Assemblies, demonstrations or other activities by students which

Chronology

1972

OCTOBER

- 17 ROK President Park Chung Hee declares martial law.
- 27 ROK Cabinet proposes revised constitution as part of Revitalization reform.

NOVEMBER

- 21 In national referendum on proposed constitution, voter turnout is 91.9%, affirmative vote 91.5%.
- 30 South-North Korean Coordinating Committee is launched.

DECEMBER

- 15 General election is held to choose members of National Conference of Unification (NCU), authorized in new constitution.
- 23 NCU elects Park Chung Hee as eighth president of ROK for six-year term (indefinite number of terms possible).

1973

APRIL

- 28 General Yun Pil Yong is sentenced to fifteen-year term on bribery and other charges.

JUNE

- 23 President Park announces "no objection" to U.N. membership for South and North Korea.

AUGUST

- 8 Kim Dae Jung, opposition presidential candidate in 1971, is abducted from a hotel in Tokyo. ROK ambassador to Japan says (9th), "the ROK government had no connection" with abduction.
- 13 Kim Dae Jung suddenly appears in his Seoul home.
- 15 President Park stresses simultaneous U.N. entry by South and North Korea in Liberation Day speech.
- 18 ROK government notifies Japan that Kim Dae Jung and Yang Il Dong (being visited by Kim in Tokyo at time of abduction)

are denied permission to visit Japan as demanded by Japan.

- 24 ROK-Japan Ministerial Conference is postponed.

SEPTEMBER

- 5 Japan requests that Kim Dong Woon, first secretary of ROK Embassy in Tokyo, appear voluntarily for questioning on suspicion of involvement in Kim Dae Jung's abduction. Request is turned down by ROK government.
- 7 *Chosun Ilbo's* chief editor Sunwoo Hui pens courageous editorial on Kim Dae Jung incident despite tight censorship.
- 22 ROK National Assembly begins questioning on Kim Dae Jung case. Japan's violation of ROK sovereignty is widely criticized, but elderly opposition leader Chung Il Hyung causes uproar by denouncing ROK government's role.
- 28 Former Japanese Prime Minister Kishi Nobusuke visits President Park in Seoul to reschedule ROK-Japan Ministerial Conference.

OCTOBER

- 1 U.N. Assembly officially invites observers from South and North Korea.
- 2 300 Seoul National University (SNU) liberal arts students stage antigovernment demonstration—first of its size in two years.
- 4 300 SNU law students hold rally. On following day SNU commerce students decide to boycott classes.
- 26 Kim Dae Jung is released from two-month state of arrest and holds press interview, but remains under house arrest.

NOVEMBER

- 1 ROK foreign minister declares ROK-Japan talks on Kim Dae Jung incident "were concluded today." Japanese government announces "diplomatic solution" was reached.
- 2 ROK Prime Minister Kim Jong Pil visits Japan to apologize for Kim Dae Jung incident.
- 5 Fifteen leading intellectuals issue "Emergency Statement" demanding restoration of democracy. 700 Kyung Buk U. students hold rally.
- 7 SNU commerce and engineering students begin class boycott.
- 12 4,000 students at Ewha Women's U. launch black ribbon campaign to mourn SNU law professor Choi Chong Gil's death at KCIA headquarters. Sukmyoung, Yonsei, and Korea universities stage rallies.

- 24 Thirty prominent citizens issue "Human Rights Declaration."
- 29 Demonstration by 2,000 Yonsei U. students is followed by other student rallies in Seoul and many provinces.
- 30 170 workers at *Chung-Ang Ilbo* go on half-day strike; 200 workers at *Dong-A Ilbo* rally (Dec. 3) to demand press freedom.

DECEMBER

- 3 President Park fires KCIA director Lee Hu Rak and reshuffles ROK Cabinet.
- 7 Park orders immediate release of 119 arrested students.
- 8 SNU students call for revision of Revitalization Constitution.
- 24 Thirty intellectuals begin campaign for one million signatures in support of constitutional revision.
- 26 Seventh regular ROK-Japan Ministerial Conference is held in Tokyo. Japan promises 24.7 billion yen in aid.

1974

JANUARY

- 7 Sixty-one writers issue statement supporting constitutional revision campaign.
- 8 President Park issues Emergency Decrees Nos. 1-3 prohibiting advocacy of or action for constitutional revision, authorizing military court trials of civilians, and stabilizing economy. Press is put under strict controls.
- 15 Chang Joon Ha and Paik Ki Wan are the first arrested under Emergency Decrees.
- 18 President Park proposes nonaggression pact between South and North Korea.

FEBRUARY

- 4 ROK information minister bans Japan's *Asahi Shinbun* newspaper from Korea.
- 5 Five writers are arrested on charges of violating Anti-Communist and National Security laws.
- 15 ROK defense minister claims "North Korean gunboats attacked two South Korean fishing vessels."

APRIL

- 3 SNU students and Sung Kyun Kwan U. students launch simultaneous demonstrations. Various student groups issue "Declaration on the People, Nation and Democracy" over the name of National Federation of Democratic Youth and Students (NFDYS). President Park issues Emergency Decree

No. 4 subjecting NFDYS students to arrest without warrant and sentences ranging from five years to death. All student gatherings, demonstrations and discussions are banned. Nearly 300 students and others arrested.

MAY

- 7 Committee to Boycott Hitachi Products is organized to protest discriminatory employment policy of Hitachi Ltd. against Park Jong Suk, Korean youth born and raised in Japan. (Hitachi later relented and rehired him.)
- 24 Two Japanese, Hayakawa Yoshiharu and Tachikawa Masaki, are arrested on charges of violating Emergency Decree No. 4.
- 27 Seoul Criminal Court charges Kim Dae Jung with violations of election laws in 1967 and 1971; trial opens on June 5.

JUNE

- 29 Kim Dae Jung files petition to challenge the judge presiding at his trial.

JULY

- 6 Roman Catholic Bishop Tji Hak Sun is arrested at Seoul's international airport on return from overseas trip and charged with complicity in NFDYS's anti-Park demonstrations.
- 10 Prosecutor asks death sentences for seven persons, including poet Kim Chi Ha, for alleged involvement in NFDYS case. Death sentences are passed on 13th.
- 14 Former ROK President Yun Po Sun is put under house arrest and indicted for aiding NFDYS demonstrations.
- 15 Hayakawa Yoshiharu and Tachikawa Masaki are given twenty-year sentences as requested by prosecutor on the 12th.
- 16 U.S. State Department publicly criticizes ROK government: "We do not approve of Korea's policies on human rights."
- 20 Death sentences are commuted to life imprisonment for five (including Kim Chi Ha) of seven condemned on July 13.
- 30 At U.S. Congressional hearings on "Human Rights in Korea," Rep. Donald E. Fraser, Prof. Edwin O. Reischauer and others criticize repression by Park regime and propose reduction or stop of aid to Korea.

AUGUST

- 7 ROK justice minister confirms arrest of NFDYS defense attorney Kang Shin Ok for criticizing military court in his July 9 summation. Kang later (Sept. 4) receives fifteen-year sentence.

- 12 Military court sentences Bishop Tji Hak Sun, Rev. Park Hyung Kyu and Prof. Kim Dong Gil (Yonsei U. dean) to fifteen years in prison for “instigating insurrection” in NFDYS case; former ROK President Yun Po Sun gets three years with five-year stay of execution on similar charges.
- 14 ROK foreign minister gives Japanese ambassador a report on the “Arrest and Detention of Kim Dae Jung” and declares Kim’s case closed. Japan’s foreign minister expresses “dissatisfaction and regrets.”
- 15 Assassination attempt is made on President Park at Independence Day ceremony; pistol shots kill Mrs. Park and one girl in chorus instead.
- 16 Assassin is identified as Moon Se Kwang, Korean resident of Japan.
- 18 Japan disavows “legal or moral responsibility” for assassination try.
- 19 Mrs. Park is buried in National Cemetery. Japan’s Prime Minister Tanaka Kakuei attends funeral.
- 20 Prime Minister Kim Jong Pil and entire Cabinet, along with presidential security chief and his subordinates, submit resignations over assassination incident. President Park accepts only resignations of home minister and security chief.
- 21 200 progovernment rioters break into Japanese Embassy to demand apology. Anti-Japanese demonstrations spread rapidly.
- 23 President Park cancels Emergency Decrees Nos. 1 and 4. Kim Young Sam is elected head of opposition New Democratic Party (NDP).
- 29 Japan’s Foreign Minister Kimura Toshio says in Diet that he sees “no objective threat” to ROK from North Korea. Park issues unprecedented warning (30th) that friendly ROK-Japan relations can be maintained only if Japan is “not used as a base for activities aimed at destroying Korea.”

SEPTEMBER

- 5 Japan’s Foreign Minister Kimura Toshio testifies in Diet that he does “not recognize the ROK government as the only legal government on the Korean peninsula.” ROK government calls Kimura’s statement “reckless.” Rioters ravage Japanese Embassy and burn Japanese flag—for which ROK foreign minister apologizes.

- 10 Retired U.S. Rear Admiral Gene R. Laroche testifies in Congress that nuclear weapons deployed in South Korea pose grave danger, one that grows the longer the Park regime lasts.
- 11 Japan appoints Shiina Etsusaburo as special envoy to ROK to smooth over anti-Japanese feeling, a move bitterly denounced by Japanese opposition parties as “shameful loss of diplomatic integrity.”
- 12 Harvard professor Jerome Cohen reports Japanese businessmen have made huge profits from rebates on Japanese aid to Korea.
- 17 ROK construction minister resigns because of alleged illegal imports of jewels by his wife.
- 18 ROK Cabinet is suddenly reshuffled.
- 19 Japan’s special envoy Shiina visits Korea and gives verbal explanations largely in accord with ROK demands. ROK Prime Minister Kim Jong Pil announces that this resolves tensions.
- 22 Joint Catholic-Protestant prayer meeting calls for total abolition of Emergency Decrees and immediate release of all political prisoners.
- 23 4,000 Ewha Women’s U. students hold prayer meeting and begin signature campaign for release of imprisoned students and professors.
- 26 2,000 Catholics hold prayer meeting to urge abolition of Revitalization Constitution and clash with police in subsequent street demonstration.

OCTOBER

- 1 U.S. State Department issues special report on human rights in Korea.
- 7 NDP head Kim Young Sam severely criticizes Park regime and Revitalization system in National Assembly.
- 10 2,000 Korea U. students rally and issue “Declaration to Save the Nation,” then experience violent clash with riot police. Following morning brings another violent confrontation with riot police as students issue “Declaration of Conscience.” Korea U. is closed. Rallies break out on other campuses. Number of closed universities increases.
- 19 Accused assassin Moon Se Kwang is sentenced to death; appeals.
- 24 200 *Dong-A Ilbo* reporters rally and issue “Declaration on

Practice of Press Freedom.” Similar actions taken by reporters of *Hankuk Ilbo*, *Chosun Ilbo* and *Chung-Ang Ilbo*.

- 25 *Dong-A Ilbo* management accedes to reporters’ demand and publishes their declaration, as do some other newspapers.

NOVEMBER

- 11 Roman Catholic Church in Korea holds prayer meetings for restoration of human rights in all its fourteen dioceses. Kim Dae Jung attends one of these meetings.
- 12 *Dong-A Ilbo* reporters strike to demand that reports of the Catholic meetings be run on page one. Extensive accounts are run (13th) on “social affairs” page, with front-page editorial commentary.
- 14 *Dong-A Ilbo* prints first editorial openly criticizing the Revitalization Constitution. NDP issues plan for constitutional revision and calls for public support.
- 15 A spokesman for U.N. forces in Korea announces discovery of tunnels under DMZ allegedly dug by North Korea.
- 19 Rally by 4,000 Ewha students calls for release of political prisoners, abolition of Constitution, restoration of democracy. Street demonstration is blocked by riot police. 700 marching Catholics are dispersed with tear gas, as are 800 candle-bearing Presbyterians that evening.
- 20 Seoul High Court rejects appeal of Moon Se Kwang; he appeals to Supreme Court.
- 22 U.S. President Gerald Ford visits Korea; joint communiqué is issued as he leaves the next day.
- 27 Seventy-one representatives of opposition parties and religious, academic and journalistic circles form National Council for the Restoration of Democracy. Kim Dae Jung attends founding session.

DECEMBER

- 5 All NDP members of National Assembly stage sit-in to demand constitutional revision and release of political prisoners.
- 9 Japan’s Prime Minister Miki Takeo forms new Cabinet. Miyazawa Kiichi is named foreign minister.
- 10 Defendants of “People’s Revolutionary Party” (PRP), alleged ringleaders in NFDYS case, appeal for trial to be opened to the public.
- 14 Rev. George Ogle, Methodist missionary who examined the

- PRP case and stressed defendants' innocence, is deported from Korea for "criticizing the Revitalization system."
- 17 Moon Se Kwang's death sentence is upheld by the Supreme Court. Moon is executed three days later.
 - 18 ROK government announces that Korean citizens may freely visit Kim Dae Jung. NDP chief Kim Young Sam calls on Kim for talks (22nd).
 - 23 *Dong-A Ilbo* reporters disclose extensive cancellation of advertisements; two full ad pages are blank by 26th.
 - 27 Support ads for *Dong-A Ilbo* begin to fill empty pages. Society to Support *Dong-A Ilbo* is formed in Japan (28th).

1975

JANUARY

- 1 Roman Catholic Priests' Corps for the Realization of Justice runs front-page ad in *Dong-A Ilbo* protesting suppression of press freedom. Support ads keep flowing in.
- 9 Christian churches announce campaign to collect one million signatures in support of constitutional revision. Police confiscate signature lists.
- 15 *Dong-A Ilbo*'s advertising manager is arrested by Army Security Command for refusing to reveal identity of army officer who placed a support ad. 900 *Dong-A* reporters occupy news room and hold out until 17th when forcibly evicted. International Press Institute sends cable of support to *Dong-A Ilbo*.
- 22 President Park announces national referendum to assess public approval/disapproval of Revitalization Constitution. Kim Dae Jung, opposition parties and other democratic groups repudiate referendum.

FEBRUARY

- 10 National emergency is declared, military put on alert. Opposition leaders appeal for boycott of referendum. Fourteen civic groups issue joint statement against it.
- 12 National referendum is held. Voter turnout is 80%; affirmative votes are 73%, negative votes 25%.
- 15 President Park announces suspension of prison terms and release of political prisoners sentenced under Emergency Decrees Nos. 1 and 4. Japanese prisoners Hayakawa and Tachikawa are included in reprieve, but not PRP members.

Kim Chi Ha and Kim Dong Gil leave prison that evening.

- 25 Kim Chi Ha's "prison memo" is printed serially (through 27th) in *Dong-A Ilbo* under title "Asceticism—1974."
- 28 Torture of opposition party members by KCIA is exposed. Shakeup of top executives at *Dong-A Ilbo* is announced.

MARCH

- 6 600 *Chosun Ilbo* reporters strike for press freedom. Five strike leaders are fired (7th).
- 7 Eighteen *Dong-A Ilbo* reporters are dismissed; two more on 10th.
- 11 *Chosun Ilbo*'s management fires four more reporters.
- 12 *Dong-A Ilbo* reporters strike to protest the "company's complicity in the government's scheme to suppress freedom of the press" and issue statement that "*Dong-A Ilbo* is dead."
- 14 Kim Chi Ha, detained the previous day, is indicted on charges that his "Asceticism—1974" violated the Anti-Communist Law.
- 16 *Dong-A Ilbo*'s chief editor resigns. *Dong-A*'s management evicts strikers (17th) in company lockout action.
- 18 Ruling Democratic Republican Party submits bill to National Assembly to outlaw "blasphemy of state organs" in or outside Korea, with penalty of up to seven years' imprisonment. Bill passes (19th).
- 19 ROK education minister demands resignation of Yonsei U. president for reinstating professors and students released from prison.
- 27 4,000 Yonsei students hold emergency rally.

APRIL

- 3 Yonsei U. president resigns. 6,000 of Yonsei's 8,000 students rally to protest.
- 4 ROK information minister makes public Kim Chi Ha's alleged confession, "I am a Marxist."
- 8 ROK Supreme Court turns down appeal of eight PRP defendants. 2,000 Korea U. students demonstrate to demand "resignation of the dictatorial regime." Government responds with Emergency Decree No. 7 ordering Korea U. closed.
- 9 Eight PRP defendants are precipitously executed. Strong protests are made by Amnesty International and various groups in Japan.
- 10 Korea U. president resigns. President Ford reacts to swift power realignment in Indochina with reassertion of importance

of mutual U.S.-Japan-ROK security.

- 11 Kim Sang Jin, SNU student, commits suicide after penning "An Open Letter to the President" calling for Park's resignation. Rev. Moon Dong Hwan, secretary-designate of National Council for the Restoration of Democracy, is arrested. Oppression of Christians escalates.
- 17 Cambodia's capital falls to liberation forces.
- 18 North Korea's Chairman Kim Il Sung visits Peking; a joint communiqué is issued.
- 19 Kim Dae Jung and Ham Suk Hon preside at an antigovernment assembly and assert, "True security lies precisely in abolishing the Revitalization system." Kim's speech is his first in three years. Ham is apprehended by the KCIA.
- 30 Saigon government surrenders unconditionally.

MAY

- 8 Anti-Communist League and thirty-eight organizations form National Council for Total Security. This council sponsors a progovernment rally attended by 1.4 million people.
- 12 Opposition NDP withdraws "for the time being" from movement for constitutional revision.
- 13 President Park proclaims Emergency Decree No. 9 outlawing all antigovernment activities.
- 17 Gulf Oil's president testifies in Senate hearings that twice, in 1966 and 1970, political contributions totalling \$4 million were made in response to demands by ROK regime.
- 21 ROK education minister announces plan to regiment all students in Student Defense League.
- 23 1,000 SNU students defy Emergency Decree No. 9 and stage rally. 300 reportedly are arrested. SNU president resigns.

JUNE

- 17 ROK government announces plan for Civilian Defense Corps for compulsory mobilization of all able-bodied adult males; Corps' members are to be prohibited from engaging in political activities.
- 20 U.S. Defense Secretary Schlesinger confirms reports that nuclear weapons are deployed in South Korea and admits that use of nuclear arms is a possibility in the event of an invasion by North Korea.
- 27 ROK government announces new defense tax.
- 28 ROK government completes mobilization of 1.5 million

students of all 98 universities, 54 technical colleges, and 1,237 high schools in new Student Defense League.

JULY

- 24 Japan's Foreign Minister Miyazawa Kiichi visits South Korea for talks with President Park, and in follow-up press conference says that Kim Dae Jung case is settled.

AUGUST

- 17 Chang Joon Ha dies from fall while hiking in mountains outside Seoul. *Dong-A Ilbo* raises questions as to cause of Chang's death (19th); reporter who wrote the *Dong-A* article is arrested for violation of Emergency Decree No. 9.
- 25 Non-Aligned Nations Ministerial Conference, meeting in Lima, Peru, accepts North Korea but rejects South Korea as member nation.
- 30 United Socialist Party head Kim Chol is arrested by KCIA for violation of Emergency Decree No. 9.

OCTOBER

- 8 National Assemblywoman Kim Ok Son is expelled from the Assembly for severely criticizing Park regime.

NOVEMBER

- 18 U. N. Assembly passes two resolutions presented by opposing blocs supporting South and North Korea.
- 25 Kim Dae Jung submits appeal to ROK Supreme Court criticizing KCIA interference in his trial proceedings (on alleged election law violations) and appeals for fair trial.

DECEMBER

- 13 Seoul District Court convicts Kim Dae Jung on charges of election law violations, sentences him to one year in prison. Kim appeals to Supreme Court (18th).
- 19 Prime Minister Kim Jong Pil and entire Cabinet resign; successor Choi Kyun Ha forms new Cabinet.

1976

JANUARY

- 23 Joint Catholic-Protestant prayer service in Wonju attended by 700 participants issues "Joint Declaration for Unity of Democracy and Public Affairs."

FEBRUARY

- 14 Rev. Park Hyung Kyu is released from prison.
- 28 ROK government announces that 212 professors have been

dismissed from Korean universities under new screening process. (Private sources put estimate at more than 400.)

MARCH

- 1 Joint Catholic-Protestant service at Myongdong Cathedral in Seoul commemorates 57th anniversary of March 1, 1919 uprising against Japanese colonialism and issues "Declaration for Democratic National Salvation." Declaration is read at the service by Ms. Lee Oo Jung, head of Korean Church Women United, who is arrested immediately after the service.
- 8 Total of confirmed arrests following March 1st Catholic-Protestant service reaches twenty-seven, including Kim Dae Jung; Assemblyman Chung Il Hyung is taken in for interrogation, and former ROK President Yun Po Sun is interrogated at home (wives of all three men are arrested in this roundup).
- 10 ROK government announces formal charges of "conspiracy to overthrow the government" against twenty persons and names Kim Dae Jung, Fr. Hahm Se Ung, and Rev. Moon Ik Hwan as "leaders of the conspiracy." Local press carries the news with no commentary.
- 15 Cardinal Kim Su Hwan leads 2,000 participants in prayer meeting at Myongdong Cathedral in prayers for Kim Dae Jung and other arrested persons.
- 19 U. S. State Department spokesman issues formal complaint against Park government for arrest of Kim Dae Jung and other Christian leaders and announces investigation into illegal activities of KCIA in the U. S.